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AN OVERVIEW OF BLACK AMERICA IN 1984

By

John E. Jacob

Ten years ago, the National Urban League began publishing this annual assessment of the status of blacks in America. Over this period we have recorded some advancements and some setbacks, but what has remained constant is the continuing struggle of Black America for equity.

Black America is a special place that requires special understanding. It embraces more than 26 million men, women and children and is becoming increasingly younger and more concentrated in urban areas. While it shares many of the same concerns so common to American society as a whole -- a decent education, a worthwhile job offering upward mobility, the rearing of a strong and healthy family, and retirement in comfort and dignity -- it has its own special set of concerns that exert a powerful influence in determining the quality of its life.

Concerns about schools that do not teach but graduate functional illiterates, about horrendous unemployment rates and the tens of thousands of people who have never held a job and probably never will, about the staggering increase in families headed by single women, about violent crime where blacks are both the principal victims and the perpetrators.

That Black America is not worse off today than it is, is more of a testament to its traditional ability to survive under the most difficult of conditions than to anything else. Survival is a way of life in all too much of Black America, but the word also carries with it the implication of being able to make those changes and adjustments necessary to meet the circumstances of the moment.

These adjustments occurred increasingly in Black America in 1984 as more blacks and more black institutions, realizing there would be only minimal assistance coming from the outside, directed more and more of their own energies and limited resources toward addressing the pressing problems at hand. We will return to this point later.

When the National Urban League started this series it was because of the need to call the nation's attention to the special conditions of black Americans, conditions that were being ignored by the leadership and the policy-makers in this country. Those who were in a position to do something about these conditions, proceeded as if they did not exist. And those who by raising the issues that produced the conditions might have compelled attention to be paid to them, were either powerless or chose to be silent.

We spoke in the first "State of Black America" of the slow but steady decline in racial cooperation and how the "condition of black Americans, once the benchmark of America's commitment to equality and justice, is now the object of malign neglect and hostile disregard."

A few days before the publication of our document, President Richard M. Nixon delivered the State of the Union Address. Commenting on that we said:

"It did not include a single mention of black citizens and their needs. It included not one word about the government's commitment to enforce civil rights laws, about the disproportionate suffering black people have endured in the current depression, about mob efforts to defy court orders to desegregate the schools, about the urban fiscal problems of our most urbanized minority -- not one word!

"Because the public has been subjected to an analysis of the State of the Union that excludes black people, the National Urban League has prepared a document that delineates the State of Black Americans today. It is a document that does not attempt to cover up the seriousness of the situation black people find themselves in."

And ten years later, what is the State of Black America? Has it improved? Has it grown worse?

In the best of worlds we would be reporting that the black condition has shown marked improvement over the past decade. But the facts argue otherwise. In virtually every area of life that counts, black people made strong progress in the 1960s, peaked in the 70s, and have been sliding back ever since. Much of this, but not all, is attributable to the shape of the American economy which has gone through some trying times, and is still not out of the woods, as far as black Americans can discern.

One measuring rod for answering the questions we have posed is employment. In 1975, black unemployment was 14.1%, about double that of white unemployment (7.6%). At the end of 1984, black unemployment was 16%, more than double that of whites (6.5%). Constituting some 10% of the labor force, blacks account for 20% of the jobless.

The economy is not the only force that continues to operate against blacks. The national will to take positive steps to help set the scales of justice into balance has diminished tremendously over the past ten years, and has been replaced, in large measure, by a feeling that nothing more needs to be done and if blacks are still on the outside looking in, it's probably their own fault.

National leadership must be held accountable because by its failure to continue to place strong emphasis on those programs and policies that were improving the lives of blacks, other minorities and the poor, it sent a signal that such matters had been placed on the backburner.

Under the Nixon-Ford Administration, the problems of blacks and the poor were never major concerns, but there was little overt hostility, and draconian measures against the disadvantaged were not taken. For all of its professed, and undoubtedly real concern for those at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, the Carter Administration found itself so caught up in the so-called oil crisis, inflation, a worsening economy, and what it called a "malaise" of the American spirit, that it had little time or stomach for other matters.

The Reagan Administration, however, has by contrast made the short-

comings of other Administrations seem minor. Its record is deplorable and includes continuing attacks against affirmative action, the unwarranted entry of the Justice Department into civil rights cases in an effort to turn back the clock, efforts to grant tax exemption to schools that discriminate, the transformation of the once independent U.S. Commission on Civil Rights into a rubber stamp for Administration policy, foot dragging on the extension of the Voting Rights Act, and cuts in domestic programs that have helped drive more than half a million families into poverty.

Small wonder then that blacks, overwhelmingly voted against the Administration in 1984. The point that seems to have been missed by some Administration supporters who profess that the only reason blacks voted as they did was that they had been misled by their leaders, is that blacks voted as they did because they felt it was in their best interest.

There is no question but that President Reagan has revived the American spirit and fostered a sense of self-confidence among the American people. He is a popular President and under his leadership inflation has been reduced, the overall economy has improved, and the military has been given the key to the treasury.

Does this mean then that black people were out of step with the rest of their countrymen when they voted so overwhelmingly against him? It probably does, but this does not mean that from their perspective, there was any other choice. The plain fact is that black people are wary of this Administration. They do not trust it, and the Administration has given them very few reasons to feel any differently.

In its first edition for 1985, Time Magazine offered an observation that is helpful in understanding the black perspective on the Reagan Administration:

"But in Reagan's America... there has been a fundamental shift in values. From the beginning, American sentiment has been in tension between the values of freedom and equality. Under President Roosevelt, and for several generations thereafter, the official American inclination has been toward equality. In Reagan's America, the value of freedom has reasserted itself, sometimes at the expense of the gentler instincts."

The Administration's philosophy, at least as perceived by many blacks, favors the federal government removing itself from any activity that would foster equality, leaving fate to correct any imperfections that might exist in the society. When you are already equal, that type of approach may be acceptable. But when you are still struggling with an unequal status, this is a most difficult pill to swallow. When that fact is recognized, then the posture of black voters in the 1984 election becomes understandable.

As disappointing as the results of the election may have been to the majority of blacks -- and the final result was never in much doubt -- there were other developments that occurred in 1984 that brought hope and encouragement to Black America. At the top of the list was the candidacy of Jesse Jackson for the Democratic Presidential nomination and the flurry of political involvementt it helped to spark at the local level, particularly among young black voters.

The odds were all against Jackson from the very beginning, but where other candidates, much better financed and with stronger campaign organizations, faltered and dropped out along the primary trail, Jackson persisted up until the convention. In so doing, he engendered tremendous interest on the part of many blacks in the political system, and made it clear that a black can be a serious candidate for the highest office in the nation.

The full effects of the campaign may not be known for years, but suffice it to say that American politics can never quite be the same again.

A second positive note was sounded as indications grew that the black community was engaged in a process of coming together to deal with its own internal problems that threaten the vitality of the black family, and so threaten the vitality of the black community itself.

These problems, to a large degree, reflect what America has done to blac people in doling out to them, for so many years, the worst of jobs, housing, health care, education and a host of other components that make up the human existence.

At the same time, blacks must also share some of the responsibility for not acting before to address in a massive and coordinated way some of the social ills that sap the strength of their communities.

And so when representatives of well over 100 black national black organizations, representing virtually every spectrum of Black America, met at Fisk University in the spring of 1984 a turning point had been reached. Their purpose was to devise strategies to place endangered black families on firmer footing, and to see to it that those strategies were implemented where it counts the most, at the local level. In community after community, many local organizations have increased their voluntary efforts to help troubled youngsters, combat crime and improve educational opportunities. Now, with so many national organizations committed to these same efforts, the cornerstone of future health for our communities has been laid.

The National Urban League is proud to have been a co-sponsor of the Black Family Summit along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for we are firmly convinced that a reawakened and active community is essential to black progress.

Toward the end of the year, memories of the coalitions that were so effective in the Civil Rights Movement were revived when together, blacks and whites demonstrated, and some chose to go to jail, to protest the despicable and vicious racist actions of the government of the Union of South Africa. For the first time in years preachers and rabbis, labor leaders and civil rights activists, elected official and the young marched hand and hand singing "We Shall Overcome." Even conservative Republican Congressmen protested the South African oppression.

Finally, the conscience of the nation was aroused by the famine in Africa. It took the chilling sight of starving children and adults to do

it. but in communities all across the country people mobilized their resources to send food to the hungry abroad.

These two developments would seem to indicate that it is still possible to form coalitions of decency, that moral imperatives can unite people in concerted efforts, and that fairness still counts for something.

Perhaps in some ways, it is easier to deal with problems when they are thousands of miles away and transferring the concern shown for people in other lands to your own might not be the easiest of tasks. But the effort has to be made.

On balance, we would suggest that the strongest message coming out of Black America in 1984 was that it became increasingly aware of its own strengths and increasingly willing to act independently to achieve what it considers its own best interests. This does not signal any lessening of the responsibility of government or the private sector to assist in the building of a Black America that is equal in every respect to the other sectors of our society. But it does signal that Black America is not standing still waiting for others to come to its rescue. It recognizes that its salvation lies within itself.

The question is often asked, "what do black people want?" The implication therein is that having had legal racial restrictions removed, having seen some of their own move into positions from which they were once excluded, and having been blessed by living in the most prosperous democratic society on earth, they should be satisfied. My response to that question is contained in an excerpt from my keynote address at the NUL's 1984 Annual Conference:

"We want what white people want -- decent jobs, homes and health care, and quality education for our kids so they can grow up in peace and dignity.

"We want an open society in which everybody has a chance to make it on their own -- a society in which whiteness and wealth confer no special advantages -- a society in which black people and poor people are full partners in democracy.

"We want a pluralistic society in which everybody can develop to the limits of their human talents -- a society that honors the diversity of the multi-colored fabric of America.

"We want an integrated society in which race is no longer a barrier and whites and blacks are fully equal, in practice as in law.

"We want an America that nurtures its many peoples with respect for the divine spark that dwells within all of us -- an America that moves beyond racism to a new era of progress and reconciliation."

Within the following pages, we present major papers on a variety of subjects from seven outstanding scholars. The specific subject areas were selected because of the important role they played in Black America during 1984. We asked the authors to provide the readers of "The State of Black America-1985" with their own objective and independent evaluations. Their views, therefore, do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the National Urban League. Our own summation and recommendations appear at the end of this report.

It is our hope that this publication will help increase an awareness of the reality of life within Black America and influence the decision making process in 1985. We express our gratitude to the authors.

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THE BLACK FAMILY TODAY AND TOMORROW

By

James D. McGhee

"One summer day two men were fishing from a boat in a briskly running stream. Suddenly, they began to see babies in the water floating downstream past the boat struggling and crying and trying to survive. One of the men in the boat quickly jumped into the water and began to catch as many babies as he could, tossing them into the boat to save them from drowning. Meanwhile, his companion jumped over the other side of the boat and began to swim to shore. Seeing this, the first man shouted "wait! where are you going? Help me," as he continued trying to catch the babies and get them into the boat. The second person kept swimming to shore but paused to respond "you keep trying to save as many as you can, but I'm going upstream to stop that person from throwing them into the water in the first place."

I. INTRODUCTION

Many black men, women and children are like those babies in the stream, struggling to survive the current. They fall, are pushed or are thrown into the stream at all ages and they come from all walks of life but most often, of course, they come from poverty. Adults may be pushed into the stream when, because of plant closings or economic recession, they lose their jobs and cannot find another. Young adults may fall into the stream when they lack the skills or experience to find a job in the first place and they may never fully participate in the American economy. A baby may be thrown into the stream through a combination of several circumstances such as having teenage parents, who are poor, uneducated and unskilled. But a baby may get into the stream in numerous other ways. Being born poor is one of the most frequent ways, but although poverty is a major reason it is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition to insure entrance into the stream. Many affluent children and young adults end up there through drug abuse, mental illness, indulgence or other causes, just as many poor persons are able to avoid the stream through hard work, intelligence and perseverance.

There are three major problems facing the black family today which account for most, if not all, of the difficulties they encounter and for so many black babies in the stream. These are not new discoveries nor are they problems unique to blacks but they have a devastating effect on the stability and cohesiveness of black families. They are divorce and separation, which dissolve large numbers of married-couple families every year; teenage pregnancy, which creates new families in which all members are at risk; and non-employment and unemployment which are the most serious of all problems faced by black families because they are the primary reason for their poverty.

The metaphor of babies in the stream illustrates both the plight of black families and the difficulty faced by those agencies dedicated to

helping them. Even while efforts continue to address the serious problems that currently beset the black family, that is, to save babies from the stream, future problems are being created in record numbers. More babies are falling into the stream and creating new problems that will eventually have to be dealt with through efforts similar to those currently underway.

But the job of saving babies from the stream is, at best, a temporary measure, an expedient approach to the amelioration of a problem that can only be fully solved by preventing the babies from entering the stream in the first place. This paper will discuss some of the reasons why babies fall into the stream and suggest ways in which both the federal government, and private individuals can prevent more babies from falling in and save some of those who are already in the water and struggling to survive.

II. THE BLACK FAMILY

In any discussion of the black family it is important that in the deluge of statistics describing its plight, we do not lose sight of the fact that over one-half of them (53%) are intact, married-couple families.[1/] Such families represent the most economically viable family unit, boasting a median income in 1983 of $26,686 when both husband and wife were in the labor force. Unfortunately, the married couple family as a percentage of all black families has declined over the last two decades from 68% in 1960 to 53% in 1983. Fortunately, on the other hand, the precipitous decline in the percentage of married couple families that was evident between 1960 and 1975 has slowed in the years since 1980.

While the typical black family still consists of a married couple living together, there has been an ominous rise in the percentage of black families headed by single females over the last 20 years. In 1960, 22.4% of black families were headed by females. By 1980 this figure had reached 40.3% and was still rising so that in 1983 nearly 42% of black families were headed by women (Table 1). Because so many black families are headed by single females, it is worthwhile to examine some of the characteristics of these families more closely. The average age of the black female householder has been decreasing for the last 30 years and is now 37.6 years. More interesting and significant, however, are the reasons why these women are both single and heads of households. Only about one-fourth of them have never been married. Nearly three-fourths, on the other hand, are either married with an absent spouse (28.7%), widowed (22.2%) or divorced (21.9%). So it is the disintegration of intact married couple families rather than child birth by single women that accounts for the great majority of single female-headed households (Table 2).

It is ironic that the years during which black Americans experienced dramatic improvement in their standard of living and when the Civil Rights Movement secured the greatest gains in opportunities for them, they also experienced an unprecedented decline in black married couple families as a percentage of all black families. While this period of turmoil and turbulence also saw a decline in white married couple families from 89% in 1960 to 87% in 1983, this change does not even approach that recorded

for black families.

The obvious next question is how and why such a small percentage of black families as compared to white families consist of married couples? Part of the answer to the question of how the black married couple family has declined is through divorce and separation which are discussed in the following pages. The answer to why there has been a decline in the percentage of black married couple families is much more difficult but that, too, will be discussed.

A. Divorce and Separation

One reason for the decline in married-couple families has been the unprecedented rise in the divorce rates of black males and females. Since 1960 the divorce rate for black males has risen more than 400% from 45 per thousand married persons in 1960 to 178 per thousand in 1981. For black females there has been a similarly spectacular increase from 78 per thousand in 1960 to 289 per thousand in 1981. This is not to say that the problem of divorce is limited to black families. Whites have increased their divorce rates by about 300% in the 20-year period, but the divorce rate for black families, which historically has been double that of white families, has grown even faster than that of whites in the same two decades (Table 3).

The divorce rate, which has been the most frequently cited indicator of family instability is, nevertheless, very misleading and its use by itself results in a significant underestimation of the extent of marital dissolution. For some reason, perhaps because of the cost of divorce, black husbands and wives separate without divorce to a much greater extent than do whites (about 5 to 1 in 1981). This tendency was even more marked prior to 1980 when separations actually outnumbered divorces among black married couples. It was only in 1980 that divorces began to outnumber separations.

These factors are important because, while all separations do not lead to divorce they, nevertheless, have a similar effect on the economic stability of the family. The similarity is especially close when, as seems to be the case in many black families, separation is used as a substitute for divorce. Thus, in 1981 of all black adult males between 25 and 54 years of age who had ever married, more than 15% were divorced, and another 11% were separated. Of all similar black families, 18% were divorced and 19% were separated. This amounted to a total of 26% of ever-married black males and 37% of ever-married black females who had been either divorced or separated (Table 4).

The economic consequences of marital break-ups of this magnitude are staggering. It means that one out of four men and more than one out of three women of this age group who had been married also had experienced the dissolution of their marriage. Whether divorced or separated, it is still necessary for a family that lived together in a single household to incur the expense of setting up a second household. This second household becomes permanent if separation then leads to divorce and often even if it does not. Either way, money that previously paid for children's

clothing, day care, medical care, or was saved, now must be spent for setting up and maintaining another household. Among black families whose resources usually are scarce already, divorce or long-term separation spells economic disaster. For example, the median income of two-earner black families was $20,360 in 1980. Assuming that the two householders divided the family's income equally, what we would have after divorce or separation is two low-income households struggling to survive on $10,180 per year rather than one middle-income family which can live relatively comfortably on $20,360 per year.

B. Family Type and Income

Family type is important because there is a very clear and strong relationship between family type and family income, with the lowest family income going to the fastest growing black family type -- the female-headed household. In 1983, black married-couple families had a median income of $20,586 while the median income for all black families was $14,506. Black married-couple families with both husband and wife in the paid labor force had the highest median income of all black families at $26,686. Even when the wife is not in the paid labor force these families have higher median incomes ($16,348) than do female-headed households, reflecting the generally higher wages and salaries earned by males. On the other hand, the median income of female-headed households was $7,999 in 1983, or less than one-third that of married-couple families with both husband and wife in the paid labor force (Table 5).

Clearly then, family type is a major determinant of economic status in the black community, although, this relationship is only an indirect one. There is nothing inherent in the married state that leads to higher family income. Black married couples have higher incomes primarily for two reasons: because both householders are often in the labor force and because males generally have higher median incomes than females do. In fact, in 1983 the median income of black married-couple families where the wife was not in the paid labor force was $12,419 or a little more than one-half that of married-couple families with the wife in the paid labor force. Therefore, it is the opportunity to combine two incomes plus the higher earnings potential of males that result in the higher incomes for married-couple families.

Nevertheless, it is important to the economic security of black people that steps be taken to reduce the economic toll that divorce and separation take on the black family. The price the parents pay is high, but the price the children pay is even higher. In 1980, nearly three-fourths (72%) of all black female-headed households contained children under the age of 18 years, up from 67% in 1970. During the same period, the proportion of all black children under 18 years old living with single females also increased dramatically -- from about 31% in 1970 to over 44% in 1980. Thus, we are fast approaching the point where half of all black children in the United States will be living with single females--the poorest of all family groups (Table 2).

The reasons for divorce and separation are obviously many and complex and we will not attempt to discuss them in detail here. But regardless

of the reasons, something must be done to reduce their rates in the black community. We seem to have gradually come to accept the inevitability of family dissolution, perhaps, to the point where we do not try very hard to prevent it anymore. This attitude can be understood when it is held by an affluent majority which can better afford to pay the financial penalties of divorce and separation, but for a poor minority, it is disastrous.

We are well aware that the separation of a husband and wife may often result in a more stable emotional climate in the household. Marriage has no magic that insures that a house with two parents will be better than one with a single parent. But in the vast majority of cases, both parents and children are better off if the family stays together. The members of a married couple family in which both spouses are in the labor force also provide each other with greater economic stability. If one member of the couple loses his or her job for whatever reason, then the income produced by the other can at least maintain the household while the other looks for work. Surely, the unemployment of one spouse in a married couple family will cause financial damage to a family that has lived and planned on the basis of two incomes, but disaster can be staved off for a while, perhaps even permanently and the economic fluctuations caused by the cycle of employment and unemployment have a much milder effect upon married couples than single householders.

C. Pastoral Counseling

With the increasing availability and ease of divorce in many states and the rising divorce rates among black families nationwide, it is time to make a concerted effort to reverse the trend of increasing family dissolution. some community organizations, primarily churches, have already begun to do so by organizing and building family life centers in which the focus is to provide a broad range of services and recreational opportunities for the communities in which they are located. This is a welcome sign, but there needs to be an even sharper focus for such activities on the specific problem of divorce and separation. For example, ministers have practiced pastoral counseling for many years, but more and more of them are also using pre-marital counseling as well in an attempt to smooth the transition from single to married life. Such efforts by black ministers and churches are to be applauded and, furthermore, should be expanded to include not only pre-marital counseling but post-marital counseling as well. Marital problems usually begin not end with marriage, so there is no reason why pastoral counseling should end with the wedding. On the contrary, there is every reason for it to continue at least through the initial difficult years of marriage.

We are not unaware of the obstacles that such a program would face. We know, better than most, for example, of the difficulties of getting black men to talk about personal problems; their reluctance to do so is legend. But the best time to get men involved in counseling is during the period of engagement when it is common for the minister to counsel the prospective couple prior to actually performing the marriage ceremony. Many ministers even make participation in pre-marital counseling a prerequisite to performing the ceremony at all. It is only a small step from

there to getting a young man or woman to commit themselves to post-marital counseling sessions as well. To ease the strain on resources and to encourage participation, such sessions could be run in groups rather than individually or with separate groups for men and women. Group leaders could be professionals or lay persons, paid staffers or volunteers or any of many combinations of characteristics depending on local conditions and resources.

D. Community Efforts

The problem of black family dissolution is so great, however, that churches and pastoral counseling alone cannot be expected to deal with it adequately; therefore, other community organizations also should be involved. Local Urban Leagues, United Way agencies and other service delivery organizations should begin to address this problem directly by expanding their existing service packages to include marriage counseling and/or mediation, as well as half-way houses for family crisis intervention. Currently, most services are available only after a crisis has occurred, when actions have been taken or words spoken that may be difficult to forgive or forget. Prevention of a crisis is preferable to crisis management, and such services might save some marriages that now simply disintegrate under the pressures of daily living.

We are aware that divorce and separation are merely symptoms of other familial and societal problems. without the constant economic pressures that most black families must endure, for example, the rate of family dissolution would probably be much lower. But treating divorce and separation is analogous to treating the common cold. The common cold is caused by a virus infection for which we do not presently have a remedy or a cure. all we can do is reduce the negative effects of a cold by treating its symptoms. similarly, we have no cure for the systemic conditions that lead to divorce but we can try to treat the symptom and reduce the damage caused by those systemic problems by making a more concerted effort to prevent the dissolution of black families.

III. THE BLACK TEENAGER: SEXUALITY AND PARENTING

One of the best ways for a baby to end up in the stream struggling for mere survival is to be born to teenaged parents. Teenagers are the least able and least prepared of all to care for, educate and support a child. Yet, in 1982 one out of every four black babies was born to a female 19 years of age or younger and nearly 90% of these young women and girls were unmarried.[2/]

The implications of these statistics are frightening. The very characteristics that typify many teenagers and that lead so many to pregnancy--impulsiveness, inability to plan effectively, lack of any clear goals in life--are the very opposite of those characteristics that are most needed in a parent if that parent is to adequately provide for a child. To provide young children with the proper care, careful planning of time and resources is a necessity. In addition, proper care of children requires some knowledge of the care requirements of children and many

teenagers, being children themselves, simply don't know what to do with their own. Of course this lack of knowledge is not limited to young parents, but it is certainly exacerbated by the youth and inexperience of the teenaged parent.

This lack of knowledge, experience and resources places the child of a teenaged parent in grave danger of falling into the stream from the very moment he or she is conceived. There were nearly 150,000 babies born to black teenaged mothers in 1982 alone. At that rate by 1988 another one million babies will be born to teenaged mothers, all at grave risk of falling into the stream.

A. Medical Consequences of Teenage Pregnancy

One of the most dangerous consequences of teenage pregnancy and childbearing is the higher risk of medical complication for very young mothers. The mortality rate due to childbirth is over twice as high for mothers under the age of 15 as it is for mothers of 20-24 years of age.[3/] Furthermore, the younger the mother, the more likely she is to suffer from those medical complications that are associated with pregnancy such as premature birth, toxemia and anemia.

There is also a higher risk of medical complications for the infant born to a teenager than one born to a mother in her twenties. Babies born to teenage mothers are more likely to have low birth weights, be born prematurely and to die within the first year of life.[4/] Many of the medical problems encountered by the teenage mother and her child seem to result from inadequate prenatal medical care, although the youth of the mother is also partially to blame. The financial straits in which many teenage mothers find themselves and their own failure to recognize the need for prenatal medical care often prevent them from receiving the medical supervision they need for themselves and for the child they are carrying. By the time the teenage mother does seek medical help it is often for problems that are of a more serious nature, and their treatment contributes significantly to the cost of federally funded medical care programs such as medicaid. Welfare dependency also seems to be a phenomenon that is closely related to early pregnancy and childbearing.

B. Teenaged Fathers

Another risk that most teenage mothers must face is that, although it took two people to make the baby, in most cases they must now raise it by themselves. The great majority of teenage fathers literally and figuratively disappear from the lives of their children and the mothers of their children. Most, because of their youth, are neither emotionally nor financially prepared to assume the role of husbands and fathers and they simply cannot be relied upon to do so. This places the responsibility for the support of the child on the family of the mother or upon the state in the event that the family does not have adequate resources. Thus, the great majority of single, teenage mothers initially raise their children without the presence or the support of the father.

Not that the teenaged father could contribute much in the way of financial support, given an unemployment rate for black teenaged males that hovers around 42%. But they could contribute emotional support to the mother at a time when it is sorely needed and at least a promise of financial support when he is able. In the interim, it is not unreasonable for the boy's family to contribute to the care and feeding of the child. There is no reason why the mother's family should bear the burden of pregnancy and child care alone as they often do.

There are, of course, other negative consequences of teenaged pregnancy and child birth many of which have been discussed at length in previous publications.[5/] These relate to the long-term effects of teenage parenthood on the lives of the parents and they paint a bleak picture of lower educational attainment, reduced earning power, higher unemployment rates and unstable marriages. The black community, therefore, pays an enormous price for its high rate of teenage pregnancy and it is clear that steps must be taken to reduce both the rate of teenage pregnancies and child bearing.

The highest priority must be given to the prevention of teenage pregnancy. For many years the emphasis in this area has been on making contraceptives more available in order to prevent pregnancy and on treatment and services for girls and their babies after pregnancy has occurred. But, clearly, neither of these approaches has served to stem the tide of babies being born to teenagers, nor the flood of babies falling into the stream. Some additional effort is obviously needed. This is not to say that food and nutrition programs or contraceptive availability should be curtailed or eliminated. On the contrary, both these services need to be expanded, and abortion ought to be more easily available for those who desire it. But another element must be added which will both delay the beginning of sexual activity on the part of teenagers and increase the use of contraceptives for those who do become sexually active--both very difficult objectives but not impossible ones.

In order to accomplish either of these goals, we must first face some very harsh facts. There has been an increase in the percentage of black sexually active, never-married teenage girls from 52% of 15-19 year olds in 1971 to 65% in 1979 and as age increases toward 15 years the percentage of sexually active girls increases.[6/] Therefore, the question is not whether the majority of black teenagers are sexually active or not. The question is whether we are going to try to deal with the implications of their sexual activity. Once we recognize that the problem is not whether increased information about contraceptives will encourage sexual activity, but whether sexual activity that already exists will lead to pregnancy, then we can begin to at least operate from realistic assumptions. It is a fact that most black teenagers are sexually active and that some of them get pregnant as a result of that sexual activity. It seems very clear, then, that there are two courses of action open to those who are concerned about this aspect of black family life. One is to delay the onset of teenage sexual activity, and the second is to reduce the severity of the consequences of teenage sexual activity, i.e., pregnancy and childbirth.

C. Reducing Teenage Sexual Activity

There would seem to be three, perhaps, four avenues through which this problem can best be approached: through the parents because all teenagers must be supervised by some adult; through the school, because all teenagers must attend school until 16 year of age; through the church, since most black children are required by their parents to attend church even when the parents do not, and through the peer group, because it exerts enormous influence on the behavior of teenagers.

As a rule, the parents of teenagers don't want their children to be sexually active, but often feel uncomfortable discussing the topic with them. Perhaps it might be helpful, then, to provide them with some support in an area in which many feel adequate on their own. For example, schools, by themselves or in conjunction with community organizations and/or churches could distribute information or hold meetings on teenage sexuality with all parents whose children will enter the eighth or ninth grades. These meetings or assemblies of parents could then alert them to the fact that their children are approaching the age when many children become sexually active. They could also provide parents with methods they could use for delaying or preventing sexual activity and information about the availability of contraceptives or abortion services. Such assemblies may be held each year or each semester or, if having parents attend a school meeting is believed to be impractical, at least the information could be sent home with the children. The object is not what form the intervention takes but that the parents be involved in the problem since they constitute the major influence over the lives of their children.

D. Sex Education

Some unwanted pregnancy occurs out of sheer ignorance because some parents and many children lack accurate information about how the body functions, how contraceptives work and the effectiveness of various methods of contraception. Many teenagers also fail to understand what it means to have to care for a child: the extent of personal commitment involved and the loss of individual freedom that the care of a baby entails. Much of the ignorance of the basic subject matter could be corrected by the improvement of sex education in the schools and by insuring that it is introduced no later than the eighth or ninth grade before most black children are likely to become sexually active. We are aware that many communities object to the idea of sex education for children so young, but it is long past the time when the black community can afford to be squeamish or half-hearted about the problem of teenage childbearing or the methods that one employs to reduce it.

Some school systems have, in fact, already begun to approach this problem head on by increasing their emphasis on sex education and providing courses in the lower grades. That is an encouraging sign. Even more encouraging is the use of other media to get the message across such as plays performed before the student body which dramatize such issues as how to say no to sex and the effect of parenthood on the life of the teenager. These are clearly appropriate activities for schools, despite the questions raised about the subject matter. Many urban school systems are

becoming increasingly black in their student populations and in their administrative structure. As this process continues, it is not only legitimate, but it is imperative that their curricula and their concerns more accurately reflect the needs of their new constituency.

E. Peer Group Activities

Another approach to preventing sexual activity is to enlist the aid of the peer group. The same techniques that work to prevent other unwanted behaviors such as smoking or drug use could be applied to teenage sexual activity. By establishing a support group, for example, which focuses on delaying sexual activity and/or preventing pregnancy, such a group would provide a counterweight to all the messages from the media and from peers that encourage sexual activity.

Whatever activity is undertaken, boys should not be left out of the process, for it is the impulsiveness and irresponsibility of boys as well as girls that results in so many teenage pregnancies, another harsh fact which seems to get lost in our deliberations. The issue of male responsibility must be paramount in any campaign to reduce teenage sexual activity and pregnancy, even though males do not bear the brunt of the difficulties their actions cause. Young black men must be taught that they are responsible for their own behavior and for its consequences, and that they can control both. They must be inundated with the message that although any boy can make a girl pregnant, it takes a man to support a family.

F. Parenting

Effective parenting requires more than the feeding and clothing of a baby. It requires foresight, planning, discipline, clearly defined goals and knowledge of children among other things, to be a really effective parent. All of these are characteristics that are sorely lacking in most teenagers, especially those who become parents. When we consider that 150,000 babies are born to black teenagers every year and that many of these mothers are essentially on their own when it comes to raising their children then the need for parenting education becomes exceedingly clear.

The best way to reach a child is through the parent. There is nothing new in this observation since most support efforts (AFDC, WIC, etc.) are based on this premise. However, support efforts are consistent with this premise only through infancy. Once a child reaches the age of three or four the focus of further support efforts shifts to the child itself and the parent is virtually excluded from the process or, at best, plays a secondary role. But the parent still has a major influence on the child and should continue to play a primary role in the child's development. Unfortunately many black parents, especially those who are still teenagers, lack the knowledge and skills that are necessary to be good parents. To be sure, the black and the poor are not the only group which lacks these skills, but the effects are greater for the poor than for the affluent because, for the poor, the support systems outside the home are not as eleborate or as effective as they are for the affluent.

Parenting, therefore, is one of the neglected areas that needs much more emphasis than it gets by the black community. It is seen as something that anyone can do just because anyone can make or have a baby. But making a baby requires no skill and only a few moments of time. Effective parenting, on the other hand, requires considerable skill and many years of continous effort. The older a person becomes the more they begin to understand the requirements of parenthood. But because so many black parents are still teenagers themselves, they have either distorted views of parenthood or are totally ignorant of its ramifications.

Because of this, it is necessary that parenting education be included in programs that are designed to support black families, especially poor families and those in which the parents are still teenagers. Such programs are not new. Parenting curricula already have been developed under contract by the Administration of Children, Youth and Families in the Department of Health and Human Services. These curricula have been tested and are currently being operated through many Head Start programs with head start parents. The structure and framework of a parenting education program already exists - it only needs to be expanded and made available to other community groups which may want to use it. This kind of program would have both short and long-term benefits. For example, it would provide parents with the knowledge of the importance of discipline and structure in their childrens' lives and the techniques to provide them. It would benefit current and future children by helping parents to raise black children who are better prepared to compete in American society.

IV. UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE BLACK FAMILY

One of the most salient characteristics of the black family today is the absence of the black male as a family member. Just over one-half (54%) of black families consist of married-couples. The rest consist of unmarried couples, which is only a small percentage, or have no male parent at all.[7/] The factors which contribute to the absence of males from black families include high rates of infant mortality, accidents, homicide, school drop-outs and involvement with the criminal justice system through arrest and incarceration. All of these have been discussed in detail in other publications.[8/] What is of interest in the current discussion, however, is the end result of these hurdles which black men face, the 29% of the black male population between 20 and 64 years of age who were not employed in 1982, in part because of those factors listed above. These men were not employed either because they were not in the labor force at all or because they were in the labor force but could not find a job. Either way, it is very difficult to maintain a normal family relationship when one household head is unable to find work, especially if it is the male. For it is still true in this society, that a man's worth is determined by his ability to earn money, and long term unemployment has a devastating effect on other's opinion of the male and on the male's opinion of himself.

But black men are not the only black family members who face massive unemployment. More than 53% of all black families maintained by women and 63% of similar families with children under eighteen years of age had no employed person in the family as of October of 1984. Despite the advan-

tages that married couple families have over single parent families even they are not immune to the problem of unemployment. Nearly one out of every five married couple families (19%) had no employed person in October of 1984 and, of similar families with children under 18 years of age, nearly 16% had no employed person.[9/] Clearly, such levels of unemployment are a major factor in the poverty that many black families endure and any effort to address the problems of the black family must have employment as its ultimate goal. Work is the foundation of financial security for any person and for any family in America. This is true for blacks as it is for everyone else, and no matter how many programs and support systems there are for a family, they all are merely substitutes, and generally poor ones, for work. Work provides money and self-esteem for the worker and in doing so makes one a fully participating member of American society.

A. Jobs Programs

Employment programs designed to address the unemployment problems of black families must include several specific components if they are to be effective. First, they must provide a basic educational component to address the effect of inadequate schools and insufficient emphasis on education which have left many black men and women without the tools to compete in the labor market. Without first mastering the basic skills of reading with comprehension, writing that is comprehensible, and basic computation, further training for specific jobs is likely to be ineffective.

Second, jobs programs must involve some specific training that is targeted to the job market in a specific area. There is little benefit to be gained, for example, from training the unemployed for employment in high-tech industries if there are no high-tech jobs in the area in which the training takes place.

Third, the effort should be targeted to those who need it most and some form of stipend should be available to those who need a basic income while undergoing training. On the other hand, such a program should have strictly enforced performance criteria to insure that those who participate in the program are, in fact, learning something and making progress toward acquiring marketable skills.

Fourth, in order to make the training available to single parents, child care should be provided either in the form of a stipend with which the parent could purchase child care services or in the provision of child care centers for participants as part of the training program. Without the child care provision many single parents with young children would not be able to particpate in the training programs.

The Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and the Job Corps are designed to address the problem of unemployment among the poor, but each fails to address all of the requirements for an effective training program. Moreover, these programs although currently underfunded, are at great risk of being cut even further because of the need of the Reagan Administration to address the record breaking budget deficits that have resulted from excessive tax cuts and massive increases in military spending.

B. The Role of the Federal Government

The kinds of programs that are needed and the level of expenditure that are necessary for a jobs program to be effective can only be undertaken at the federal level with federal funds. And yet, the political climate is such that the kind of effort that is needed is not likely to be exerted unless there is a change in the thinking in the Congress and in the Executive branch of government. It remains a mystery as to why the economic benefits of massive support programs for farmers, dairy producers and tobacco growers for example, are so obvious, while the long term economic benefits of effective jobs programs are not. It seems very clear, that an investment in the training of an individual when he or she is young, for example, will pay dividends over the rest of that person's lifetime in the form of taxes paid, goods consumed and labor performed. The rationale for the bailout of the Chrysler Corporation by the federal government, for example, would apply equally well to the bailout of hundreds of thousands of black families. It would be good for the country because it would provide a larger population of trained workers and, because it would result in a net profit, it makes good economic sense in the long run.

V. CONCLUSIONS

During the 1960's and early 1970's large numbers of black families achieved middle income status through a combination of hard work, sacrifice and a federal government that was firmly committed to providing equal opportunity for all. All blacks were not able to take advantage of the opportunities that were available during those years, but many did and now lead comfortable lives and have surplus income for vacations, travel and investment, and leisure time to indulge in these activities.

While the black middle class does exist and has in fact grown, we are painfully aware of its fragility. To a large extent it is based upon married couple families where both spouses are employed. Often lacking seniority on the job, the prosperity of the black middle class family is highly dependent upon the economic stability of the country as a whole. Nevertheless, it is imperative that those black families with resources of time and money reach out to help those who are in need. Certainly, if black people do not help other black people, then we cannot condemn other races or ethnic groups for failing to help.

There are, in fact, numerous self-help activities underway in black communities nationwide. This became vividly apparent during the "Black Family Summit" conference co-sponsored by the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Spring of 1984. This conference served to provide practical answers to the question that is increasingly asked by black individuals and organizations: "What can I do to help other black people?" The dozens of participating organizations described a variety of ongoing activities and made hundreds of suggestions for ways in which individuals and organizations could get involved in helping others in the black community.

For example, one family with resources could "adopt" a family which

needs help. Such a program is already operating in California and seems to be a project that can be undertaken by an individual family with a minimum of organization or structure. Simply adopt another family which may then be provided spare clothing for adults or children, free child care, help with job search or even financial help during crises. We are all accustomed to providing food baskets to the needy during the holidays and toys during Christmas. But the poor are poor all year long, not just during holidays and if they are to change their circumstances, then some sustained support effort is needed over a longer period of time.

If adopting a family is too much of a commitment for a single family to make, then two or more families can join together to adopt one family. Even organizations can adopt families and provide ongoing support over a period of time. There are enough black families and enough black organizations with sufficent resources of money and time to make a significant difference in the well-being of a large number of poor black families nationwide, if they will make the effort to do so.

We continue to mention both resources and time because often just the contribution of time is enough to make a vital difference. For example, several urban school systems have organized large-scale tutoring programs for public school children who wish to participate. Such programs have contributed to raising the test scores of black children in many urban areas. A tutoring program requires only the commitment of time, but it has a clear and observable effect. It is also something that can be done by an individual even in the absence of an organized program. Often all that is necessary is the provision of a quiet place to study, free from the distractions of home or playground.

The objective of programs like these is to encourage those black families with skills, resources and time to reach out to those who need help. As we have indicated, these activities are already going on in the black community. Local Urban Leagues, for example, are continuously involved in the mediation and facilitation of volunteer activities on a nationwide basis. Black sororities and fraternities are working in black communities to provide support and services where they are desperately needed. But even these efforts are not enough. There must be more involvement of black individuals with resources and time in providing the kind of support that will help less fortunate black families in the struggle to improve their lot and their futures. We have the resources to help. All that is needed is individual commitment. As Reverend Jesse Jackson has so pointedly asked on many occasions: "If not now, when? If not us, whom?"

FOOTNOTES

1. Household and Family Characteristics, March, 1983. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 388, U.S. Bureau Of The Census.

2. Monthly Vital Statistics Report, National Center for Health Statistics, Volume 33, No. 6, Supplement, September, 1984.

3. Monthly Vital Statistics Report, National Center for Health Statistics, Volume 29, No. 1, 1978.

4. Monthly Vital Statistics Report, National Center for Health Statistics, Volume 27, No. 11, 1978.

5. "The Black Teenager: An Endangered Species" in: The State of Black America, 1982, James Williams, ed. National Urban League, New York, 1983.

6. Zelnick, M. and Kantner, J.F. "Sexual Activity, Contraceptive Use and Pregnancy Among Metropolitan Area Teenagers, 1971-1979." Family Planning Perspectives (12) September/October, pp. 230-237.

7. op. cit. 1

8. McGhee, James D. Running the Gauntlet: Black Men in America. National Urban League, Research Department, August, 1984.

9. Employment and Earnings, October, 1984, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.

Table 1

Families, by Race of Householder: 1960-1983

Race of Householder	Number (1,000)					Percent				
	1960	1970	1980	1981	1983	1960	1970	1980	1981	1983
Families, Total	45,111	51,586[1]	59,550[1]	60,309[1]	61,393	-	-	-	-	-
White	40,869	46,261	52,243	52,710	53,407	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married couple	36,212	41,049	44,751	44,860	45,252	88.7	88.7	85.7	85.1	86.9
Male householder[2]	1,100	1,048	1,441	1,584	1,648	2.6	2.3	2.8	3.0	2.6
Female householder[2]	3,557	4,165	6,052	6,266	6,507	8.7	9.0	11.6	11.9	10.5
Black	4,242[3]	4,887	6,184	6,317	6,530	100.0[3]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married couple	3,117	3,323	3,433	3,392	3,486	73.6	68.0	55.5	53.7	53.4
Male householder	175	182	256	291	309	4.0	3.7	4.1	4.6	4.7
Female householder	950	1,382	2,495	2,634	2,734	22.4	28.3	40.3	41.7	41.9

1/ Includes other races, not shown separately

2/ No spouse present

3/ Black and other races

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 371 and 388, Household and Family Characteristics, 1983. and unpublished data. Historical Statistics Colonial Times to 1970, Series A292-295 and A 320-334.

Table 2

Selected Characteristics of the Black Female Family Householder, No Spouse Present, 1970, 1980 and 1983

Characteristics	1970	1980	1983
Median Age	41.3	37.6	37.6
% Single (never married)	16.2	27.2	32.9
% Married, Spouse Absent	39.7	28.7	21.9
% Widowed	29.9	22.2	19.5
% Divorced	14.2	21.9	24.0
% Household Head with Children under 18	66.6	71.8	68.1
% Household Head without Children under 18	33.5	28.2	31.9

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.366, Household and Family Characteristics: 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981) and other reports.

Table 3

Divorced Persons Per 1,000 Married Persons with Spouse Present, by Race and Sex: 1960-1981

Race and Sex	1960	1970	1975	1980	1981
Black					
Male	45[1]	62	96	149	178
Female	78[1]	104	178	253	239
White					
Male	27	32	51	74	82
Female	38	56	77	110	118

[1]Black and other races.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.372 and earlier reports.

Table 4

Ever Married Persons 25-54 Years Old Who Were Divorced or Separated at Time of Survey by Race and Sex: 1960-1981

	Percent Divorced			Percent Separated		
1960	Total[1]	White	Black	Total[1]	White	Black
Male	2.4	2.4	3.1[2]	2.1	1.4	8.2[2]
Female	3.8	3.4	6.5[2]	2.8	1.7	12.4[2]
1970						
Male	3.3	3.1	5.5	1.8	1.1	9.4
Female	5.2	5.0	7.7	3.3	1.8	16.3
1975						
Male	5.4	5.2	8.5	2.6	1.6	12.4
Female	7.6	7.1	12.4	4.4	2.8	18.6
1980						
Male	8.2	7.9	12.6	3.0	2.3	10.4
Female	11.0	10.5	16.5	4.5	2.9	18.7
1981						
Male	9.0	7.9	12.6	3.0	2.3	10.4
Female	11.7	11.0	18.3	4.9	3.2	19.3

[1] Includes other races not shown separately.

[2] Blacks and other races.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.372 and earlier reports.

Table 5

Type of Family by Race and Median Income, 1970-1983 (current dollars)

Type	1970		1980		1983	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Married couple families	$7,186	$10,723	$18,593	$23,501	$21,840	$27,691
Husband and wife in paid Labor Force	9,721	12,543	22,795	27,238	26,389	32,569
Wife Not in paid Labor Force	5,961	9,531	12,419	19,430	13,821	22,359
Female Households (no husband present)	3,576	5,754	7,425	11,908	7,999	13,761
All families	6,279	10,236	12,674	21,904	14,506	25,757

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127, and 145, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980 and 1983.

THE PHENOMENON OF THE JESSE JACKSON CANDIDACY AND THE 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

By Charles V. Hamilton

I. INTRODUCTION

Less than one month after President Reagan's overwhelming reelection with 59% of the vote, where blacks voted equally overwhelmingly against the President by 91%, Congressman Charles B. Rangel of Harlem was calling the administration's newly proposed tax plan "the best thing that's come along in a long time." Rangel, a Democrat, was one of the major advisers in the Mondale campaign, and he campaigned vigorously for Reagan's defeat.

Taxes, budget deficits, social programs, and issues of "fairness" (read, legitimate enforcement of civil rights and support for social programs) were major items of concern to black voters in 1984. By voting so heavily against the Republican candidate, one can assume that the masses of blacks were reasonably convinced that their interests were not best protected by President Reagan's reelection. And yet, an influential black congressman and third ranking member of the important House Ways and Means Committee was prepared to support the overall tax plan -- albeit with some modifications -- which was proposed a few weeks after the election by the Secretary of Treasury, Donald T. Regan.

This might not be the simplest or most obvious way to begin a discussion of politics and black Americans in 1984, but it is very likely a relevant way. It was not a year of easy choices and simple solutions, although at times, the developments seemed to point in those directions.

Without question, Reverend Jesse Jackson's candidacy was the highlight all the way into and beyond the Democratic convention in July. It is safe to say that Reverend Jackson was one of the three personalities in 1984 worth talking about -- along with Reagan and Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro -- in 1984 presidential politics. In many ways, his candidacy was an enigma. Clearly, he was arousing the enthusiasm of many blacks who were, until then, likely not turned on (and therefore might well not turn out) by the national political struggle. From the beginning, his decision to seek the Democratic presidential nomination was discouraged by some black observers and activists, even as it was encouraged and supported by others. Debates were held in black communities around the country, and legitimate arguments were made -- pro and con.

Jackson's candidacy was seen as serving at least four objectives: to increase black political participation; to change Democratic party rules and state laws in order to increase the effectiveness of the black vote; to raise issues of concern to minorities; and to create a "rainbow coalition" of liberal-progressive forces within the Democratic Party that would possibly serve as a countervailing influence to the perceived rightward drift of that party.[1/] Jackson and his supporters always maintained that one of their goals was to enhance the political viability of black and progressive candidates at the state and local levels. In other words,

his candidacy should be seen as a means of activating constituents who would not only vote for him in the presidential primary, but would likewise create long enough coattails to benefit candidates for local offices -- and in subsequent political organizing and activism.

Thus, throughout the early months of 1984, and especially riding the crest of heightened media attention following the successful Syria - Lt. Goodman affair, clearly the most visible and dynamic figure on the national political scene was the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

He and his supporters cited figures that were impressive: in 1980, Reagan won by a certain margin in X state, where the black unregistered was a certain number. If those blacks registered and voted, "the hands that once picked cotton can now pick presidents," etc. By any circumstances, this was heady stuff in a system that is prone to play its politics anyway for all the drama it can.

Jackson made much of the fact that the recently adopted Democratic party rules worked against his candidacy: in order to receive delegates, the candidate had to receive a "threshold vote" -- 20% in the congressional district. Thus, Jackson argued that his delegate count did not accurately reflect his popular attraction. He and his supporters called this unfair.

Likewise, he challenged the dual primary-run-off system as detrimental to most black candidates. Those candidates would find it hard to win office if they had to compete in larger electoral districts for white votes which were not inclined to go to the black candidates.

On the issues, clearly Jackson was to the left of his primary opponents. He consistently called for vast cuts in the military budget ($80 billion in 1985), a substantial public works program ($50 billion for 1985), $10 billion for the poor and "to strengthening the availability and the quality of American education, "and for greater industrial accountability."[2/] It is also clear that South Africa received attention during the campaign largely because Jackson kept bringing the issue of apartheid in that country into the debates and into campaign oratory. Few would question that 1984 presidential politics was made more exciting, if not more substantively consequential, by Jackson's candidacy.

But if the Jackson phenomenon had its assets, it also had its liabilities. Jackson's "hymie" and "hymietown" remarks, followed by the prolonged Reverend Louis Farrakhan-Milton Coleman affair served to undercut what moral force he was able to bring to his candidacy. From that point on, he had to either defend himself, his association with Farrakhan, or to appeal to pragmatic politics. The former stance continued into the San Francisco convention and was a memorable part of his reconciliation speech there, but such a defensive, apologetic posture is hardly the strongest one in a contentious, high-stakes political struggle. One's adversaries might publicly forgive, but seldom, if ever, privately forget. The political damage was done, and as far as his achieving even a modicum of a viable rainbow coalition was concerned, that was hardly likely. Whether it was possible beforehand is problematic, but certainly not afterwards.

The political reality is that Jesse Jackson was a black presidential candidate first. Whether he wanted to be seen as that by the media and the larger public -- and time after time he resented, properly, being so classified -- there was no way such a dynamic personality with his background in the civil rights movement could escape being so perceived. His base was in the black political activist community. His staunchest earliest and most sustained constituents were black Americans. Those were the black ministers who endorsed his candidacy, as well as the youth who saw him as an effective articulator with whom they could identify. He was able to galvanize very many blacks who always had a civil rights interest, but were traditionally skeptical about electoral politics as an efficacious approach. Their support for Jackson was low cost and high yield as far as they were concerned. If he lost, this was not particularly devastating in view of their low expectation from the electoral system anyway. And for a brief time, it was conceivable that the right amount of numbers -- delegates -- could be achieved to make some dent in the party. Plus, as stated, perhaps there would be more than a small amount of spill-over onto local contests, and blacks might be able to gain some leverage from their increased political mobilization back in their local communities.

Thus, if Jackson's candidacy created problems, as surely it did, for the national party ticket and the coalitions it had to fashion, this was, to many blacks, a small price to pay. To many, the national party had to be reminded of its need for and debt to black voters, even as it attempted to court other groups of voters. Jackson would raise the bargaining chips for blacks within the Democratic party, or so it was thought.

II. THE PRIMARY RESULTS

By virtually all meaningful criteria, Jackson's primary campaign was impressive. His performance in the televised debates was perceived by friend and foe as quite competitive, substantively and in terms of demeanor. To be sure, he could have done more, as one account by Thomas E. Cavanagh and Lorn S. Foster of the Joint Center for Political Studies noted. They commented:

> During the campaign, Jackson downplayed the appeal to traditional social values that was a staple of his speeches before black audiences for many years. In such appearances, he had often emphasized self-reliance, discipline, education, the family, the church, and black entrepreneurial activity. This message is not often associated with liberal social and economic policies, and it is one that white America, generally does not associate with blacks. Jackson might well have improved his standing among whites generally and Hispanics in particular by discussing these values more frequently in his campaign. On occasions when he did, the response was favorable.
>
> For example, in the Columbia University debate, when Dan Rather asked each candidate for an example of a sacrifice he would ask of the American people, Jackson talked eloquently of the need for parents to ensure that their children did not slight their

homework to watch television. With that response, Jackson spoke not as a "black candidate" but as a concerned parent. By more fully incorporating this broadly appealing side of his persona into his campaign message, Jackson might have fostered a constructive public dialogue between the races.3/

In terms of numbers, Jackson clearly attracted black voters. In thirteen states, he received 61% or better of black votes in 12, and 50% in Alabama. His highest results were in New York (87%) and New Jersey (86%). Other results were as follows: Georgia (61%); Illinois (79%); Pennsylvania (77%); Tennessee (76%); Texas (83%); Indiana (71%); Maryland (83%); North Carolina (84%); Ohio (81%); California (78%).

His support was equally impressive from those blacks under age 50, scoring as high as 93% with that group in New York. Black voters over age 50 tended to support him less (especially in Alabama where he got 45% of that vote), but he still was their favored candidate. Blacks across the economic spectrum likewise gave him their support.

Survey data indicated that the percentage of black registration throughout the country equalled that of whites for the first time -- 73% and 72% respectively. In 1980, the figures were 67% of blacks registered and 70% of whites.4/

This led to a number of speculations about what could happen in the November election if the white turnout and party choice remained pretty much as in 1980, and if blacks increased their turnout to coincide with their increased registration. And there were grounds for suggesting that the newly politicized and registered blacks would turn out. During the primaries "in the 12 states where Jackson got at least 15% of the Democratic vote, voter turnout was substantially higher than in party primaries four years ago -- up by nearly 18%."5/ Likewise, in Illinois, Jackson's vote virtually coincided with the increase in voter turnout from 1980.

A Joint Center-Gallup poll conducted in July and August revealed that 84% of the newly registered blacks were more likely than not to vote in November as a result of Jackson's campaign.6/ In addition, early results from the Georgia primary indicated that well over a majority of the first-time registrants were voting for Jackson. Black precincts in Texas that recorded 1980 participation of 30 and 40 voters, in 1984 showed 250 people went to the polls.

But if Jackson was attracting such support from blacks, this was not the case with white voters in the primary. In the 13 states mentioned above, his highest support from whites was 9% in the California primary. The remaining hovered between 3 and 5%. A number of factors probably contributed to this relatively weak performance. Liberal whites, seeking an alternative to a more centrist Walter Mondale, had Senator Alan Cranston and George McGovern to turn to early in the primary campaign. After that, a combination of Senator Gary Hart's post-New Hampshire rise and Jackson's "hymie" remark obviously mitigated against his enlarging his support among liberal whites. Even without these developments, there is reason to believe that Reverend Jackson would be able to attract just so

many white votes, notwithstanding what he said or did.

Ultimately, the entire primary season had a peculiar mix of high enthusiasm occasioned by Jackson's presence, a tinge of "unreality" about whether he could "really" be nominated, and at the same time a sense of surprised, cautiously optimistic surmising that maybe -- just maybe -- the Democratic party could be kept from moving to the right by the recognition of this stirring among large numbers of blacks. In addition, many people sincerely believed that Jackson's candidacy would, in fact, ignite greater participatory activity at the local levels. In other words, wherever the national campaign train was (or was not) going, perhaps there were benefits to be derived locally from the increased registrations and the candidacies of more blacks for local offices.

But even the most adamant Jackson supporters often noted that they were not sanguine about a possible Jackson nomination. In more than a few instances in public forums, people bluntly admitted that they felt the country was by no means ready for a black presidential candidacy on one of the major party tickets. They were all too aware of the 3 to 4% of California voters in 1982 who candidly admitted that they had voted against Thomas Bradley for Governor because he is black. Whatever was the nation's receptivity to a woman's presence on the ticket, 1984 was clearly not the time for a black.

At times this observation was confused with indignant responses about Jesse Jackson's "right" to run for the presidency. That was never the issue, his friendly detractors said. Rather, his candidacy was perceived as simply not necessarily the best way to activate and sustain political involvement, given the racial and ideological climate. Few people could argue against increased local participation, but this did not begin with the Jackson phenomenon. In fact, it was the increased black voter participation in selected places around the country in 1982 and 1983 that apparently put the notion of a black presidential candidate forward for 1984. It was the black victories in places like Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York, and the 1982 mid-term elections. It was Mel King's creditable race for Mayor in Boston in 1983. There was already a stirring across the nation, fueled, to be sure, by growing antipathy to Reagan Administration policies. A national black presidential candidacy in 1984 might well add to this ferment, but it should not be seen as the catalyst for the heightened interest in politics and participation.

In a way, then, Jackson's primary bid for the nomination was more properly a culmination of a process, not the initiation of it. It was certainly dramatic, in a way that gubernatorial and mayoral races could not be. The presidency is the most visible position in the world. But in the scheme of things, there is no escaping the view that a black presidential bid on a major ticket in 1984 had to be seen as part symbolic, if not as largely political theater. This is not to suggest that symbolism and drama are unimportant, only that these phenomena ultimately have limited utility in the protracted struggle of American electoral politics. They attract those who otherwise would be distracted. They raise issues that otherwise would go unattended. The media is more prone to take notice, if only for a little time. These results should not be discounted, but neither should they be overestimated. Excitement leads to expectations

which in turn could lead, if unfulfilled, to exasperation.

This was the thinking of some as the primaries ended and preparations began for the national party convention in San Francisco in July.

III. THE SAN FRANCISCO CONVENTION

If Jackson held center stage prior to the convention, it was shared at that session by Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro's vice presidential nomination. Jackson's forces fought for a more liberal party platform, and generally they did not succeed. The party did agree to appoint a "fairness" commission to look into issues relating, again, to nominating rules. Basically, the national Democratic party was gearing up to run a presidential campaign against a highly popular, conservative opponent, and it was not in the mood to make concessions that would move the party to the left.

It was clear that the Mondale-Ferraro ticket needed black votes, but it was also certain that such votes, even maximally produced, would not be sufficient. It is safe to say that the party strategists read the polls and the pulse of the nation quickly, and they read "moderation," if not outright "conservatism." The coalition of groups in the Democratic party, first put together fifty years ago in the New Deal, all had to be present and accounted for. There was no room for slippage, thus Jackson's role was important. The party could not afford to insult him and the constituents he represented. At the same time, the party had to be mindful of those who were leery of Jackson and what, they perceived, he represented. Therefore, what Jackson said in his convention speech was clearly politically important.

Jackson gave the speech he should have given. It was substantive. He took care to point out the several specific issues where the Reagan Administration was harmful to members of the "rainbow coalition." It was conciliatory. He knew he had to deal with the discord caused by his "hymie" remark. And he stated: "If I have caused anyone discomfort, created pain or revived someone's fears, that was not my truest self. Charge it to my head, not my heart. I am not a perfect servant. I am a public servant doing my best against the odds. Be patient. God is not finished with me yet."

Conservative columnist George Will called it "emotional therapy for the man who has been seeking respect while others were seeking the presidency." The New York Times characterized Jackson as making an "impassioned plea for party unity."[7]

Some of Jackson's supporters felt he was too conciliatory in view of the fact that the convention had not accepted their proposals regarding reduced defense spending and run-off elections. Jackson's subsequent comments attempted to allay the fears and disappointment. Essentially, he suggested that electoral politics was only one means of pursuing one's goals. There were others, and the struggle should continue on many fronts. This was certainly the case, and it was really the sort of observation one could expect and agree with. The civil rights movements has

always understood its relationship to American decision-making politics in this way. But nonetheless, it could also be seen as something of a letdown from the heady days of early Spring -- from excitement to expectation to exasperation. The task, coming out of San Francisco, would be to maintain the momentum built behind Jackson's candidacy, to shift from Jackson the candidate to the basic nitty-gritty work of registering still more citizens, debating the issues, and preparing turn-out mechanisms.

IV. THE GENERAL ELECTION

From the beginning of the full-fledged general election campaign, the opinion polls showed President Reagan with a commanding lead. Immediately, this put in jeopardy one important precondition for an effective black vote in November. Namely, that vote could make a difference in selected states if white voter behavior was pretty consistent with its 1980 performance. It is important to note also that in the calculations of virtually everyone, there was never any doubt for whom blacks would vote. The questions always were how whites would vote and whether there would be a substantial black increase in turn out. Obviously, there was no control over the former, and the latter was dependent on voter-registration drives and turn-out incentives.

Very much attention was given to registering new black voters. "Counting on the Black Vote" was the title of the cover article in the September 29th issue of the National Journal.[8] A familiar chart was printed, showing 25 states where "unregistered blacks could make a difference." Concerted registration drives were targeted on selected states and cities. Efforts were launched to engage in on-the-spot registration in welfare offices, unemployment lines, and public and private social service agencies. A drive was started in New York to register the homeless. No one actually said, of course, but virtually everyone assumed that these efforts among blacks, Hispanics, and the poor would rebound to the benefit of the Democratic party. Many of the registration drives were conducted with funds granted for non-partisan purposes.

Eventually, it became apparent that this was not a one-sided affair. The Moral Majority people were conducting their own registration and get-out-the-vote drives. And no one assumed that their constituents would largely go for Mondale-Ferraro. But on both sides, there were party efforts. The Republicans were not sitting idly by, trusting in a mere repeat of 1980. The following account was one signal:

> "I can tell you exactly to the name, address, telephone number who our new registered voters are," said Helen Cameron, director of voter programs for Reagan-Bush '84. As of September 20, she said, the Reagan campaign has signed up and verified 2,496,498 new voters who are supporting the President.
>
> What she cannot say about these new voters, is what color they are. "I really don't keep them by race, so I don't know if they're white, black, or brown," she said. But presumably, very few of them are black.[9]

The same states and figures the pro-Mondale people were looking at were certainly known to the pro-Reagan people. Reagan carried Alabama, for example, in 1980 by only about 17,000 votes. As of September 1984, the Republicans stated: "we have registered 38,833 new Reagan voters" in Alabama.

As these various efforts were taking place, there continued to be the assumption that 1984 would be a high salient election with a reasonably substantial increase in turn out. This was so, notwithstanding polls showing President Reagan's persistent lead. Normally, a wide lead tends to dampen enthusiasm on the part of some voters. They reason: why bother? The result is certain anyway.

But 1984 appeared not to be affected by this throughout September and October. Attention remained focused on increased registration.

There were also debates about the issues, perhaps not to the extent some would have preferred, but the campaign was not devoid of reference to basic topics. Throughout, reference was made to the impact of "Reaganomics" on the poor. Several times people talked about the implications of a Reagan reelection for the future composition of the Supreme Court. What could likely have given some people the feeling that "issues" were not discussed is the possibility that very many people -- on all sides -- had made up their minds rather early on. The Reagan Administration was not an unknown entity. People who liked what was going on knew why they favored the Republican ticket. People who were opposed, likewise were clear on their reasons. Notwithstanding some comments that the two tickets had moved to the right, there was clearly enough distance between the center of gravity of each party for discerning voters to make a distinction. In such circumstances, extended, intensive "debate on the issues" is not likely to appear as such. What more likely occurred was that people constantly repeated their reasons for favoring one candidate or the other, and, in the process, reenforced their previously acquired views. Few minds seemed to have been changed over the course of the campaign, but this is not to be understood as "avoiding the issues."

Throughout the campaign there was frequent reference to the importance of specific state and local elections. Even if there was a wide -- landslide-like -- margin at the top of the ticket, there were nonetheless tight, significant races elsewhere. This was important, because the control of the Senate was at stake, as well as the extent to which there would be a "working" Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. (No one believed the Democrats would lose control of the House, but the Republicans were hoping for sizeable -- as much as 25-30 -- gains.) National attention especially was focused on the Senate race in North Carolina between incumbent Jesse Helms and challenger James Hunt. Hunt, more liberal, was clearly counting on a large black vote. There was much interest in the Illinois Senate race between incumbent Charles Percy and Democrat Paul Simon. A vacant Senate seat in Massachusetts was drawing attention. Polls showed Reagan leading in that state. Could his coattails be long enough to wrest that liberal Senate seat away from the Democrats?

Many blacks held hopes that the Second Congressional District in Delta

Mississippi would send that state's first black congressman to Washington since Reconstruction. The district had become, after redistricting following 1982, 58% black. The Republican incumbent, Webb Franklin, had narrowly defeated his present black challenger, State Representative Robert Clark, in 1982. They were at it again. Franklin hoped to improve on his 8 to 10% black support in 1982. Clark hoped to increase his 12% white support in that year.

Therefore, there was more at stake than simply the presidential race in the general election of 1984.

V. THE NOVEMBER RESULTS

As with any discrete contest, the first specific information to be known is who won, who lost. Then come the details: the score, who did what, who contributed, who failed to produce at critical points. With this baseline data, analysis sets in. Pundits take over telling us what it all means, the implications from many different vantage points, the prospects for future policy, future contests, etc. It is so, whether it is an athletic or political contest. The "game" yields to the predictable process, if not to consistent conclusions.

President Reagan's overwhelming electoral college victory was seen by some as a mandate for continuing the style and substance of his leadership. Others saw the results differently. They concluded that his success was a personal not a party victory. After all, in spite of 525 electoral college votes, and 59% of the popular vote, the Reagan victory did not demonstrate much in the way of a coattail effect. The Republicans lost a net of two Senate seats. In the mid-term 1982 congressional election, Republicans lost 26 House seats. They had hoped, with a strong, popular presidential candidate heading the ticket in 1984, that they would make substantial headway in regaining those losses and even picking up more House seats (no one really gave them a shot at capturing the House majority). Instead, the Republicans were able to regain only 15 House seats, when their most optimistic (and hopeful) counts went as high as 30. What is equally important, as Professor Demetrios Caraley of Columbia University has noted, "Not only had the Republicans failed to regain the 192 seats that they had held in 1981-82, but in addition, 13 of the Democratic losses had been in the South and many of those were among democrats who had supported the conservative coalition, while five of the Republican gains were in the relatively more pro-urban East."10/

But what about the turnout for the presidential race? Could the hands "that once picked cotton," indeed, in 1984, pick a president? The simple answer is that too many whites turned out and voted for Reagan to make whatever blacks did have any impact. Generally, white Americans gave President Reagan 66% of their vote, and this margin was too consistent in those critical states where Mondale stood even a slight chance. In other words, whites were <u>not</u> behaving as they did in 1980 (55% for Reagan), they were <u>outdoing</u> themselves and by at least 11 points more. Only three racial/ethnic groups gave Mondale-Ferraro respectable support: blacks (91%), Jews (66%); Hispanics (65%). But these three groups constitute only 10, 3, and 3% respectively, of the 1984 total electorate. Such a

percentage can have a swing-bloc effect in electoral politics only if the election is reasonably close. Stated another way, with so many whites making up their minds to favor one candidate over the other, it made little difference what blacks, Jews, and Hispanics decided to do.

It is interesting to note some particulars about Mr. Reagan's support. He received 58% of the youth vote (age 18-29); 63% of the vote of persons 60 and older, and 45% of the vote of voters in union households. As expected, he scored impressive victories in three regions: 61% in the Midwest; 63% in the South; and 59% in the West. Even in the East, he got a majority: 52%. Especially worth noting, inasmuch as the "rainbow coalition" included poor whites among its potential allies, is that voters earning $12,500-$24,999 voted for President Reagan by 57%. And, of course, his percentage support went up as the income level of the voter increased. Only those voters earning under $12,500 gave Mondale their support -- 53% -- and not by a substantial margin. Full-time students favored Reagan (51%); blue-collar workers likewise (53%). Reagan got the majority vote from every educational-level group except "women with less than high school education" (46%). Women voted in the majority for Reagan, except "women in the East" (47%). Black women, however, voted overwhelmingly for Mondale -- (93%). This was the largest vote from men or women, black or white. Black men voted for Mondale by 85% -- 8 points less than black women.[11]

In spite of the landslide by President Reagan, preliminary data from the Voter Education Project in Atlanta, Georgia, suggested that blacks in the South increased their turn out. Looking at 295 southern predominantly black precincts, VEP estimated the turnout rate at 62.7% of registered voters. But the white turnout rate was 71.6%.[12] There is no question that increased registration led to larger absolute numbers of voters actually voting. In 1982, there were 4,254,000 registered southern blacks. In 1984, the figure was 5,578,040. Most of that increase came in the intensive period from late 1983 into 1984. In addition, while the rate of registered blacks who voted in 1984 (62.7%) is less than those registered who voted in 1980 (64%), more of voting age voted (41%) in 1984 than in 1980 (35.7%). Thus, more blacks registered, leading to more blacks voting. But in percentage-of-registered voting, there was a slight 1.5% decline.

There was substantial discrepancy in reporting on black performance in the highly visible North Carolina Senate race between Helms and Hunt. Exit polls taken by the major network news agencies reported conservative Jesse Helms receiving 5, 7, and 13% of the black vote, respectively. The VEP Report was by no means as generous. Its study of the votes "in 35 virtually all-black precincts" suggested that Helms received no more than 0.91% of the black vote. Of course, contrasting methodologies likely account for these variations, but they point up the importance of later, more careful documentation of actual performance.

In the Clark vs. Franklin race for Congress in Mississippi, Franklin repeated his 1982 victory by almost the same margin, 91,390 to 88,049.

The VEP observed that "the black turnout rate was higher in Virginia than in any other ten southern states.[13]

In all, the pattern emerged as one showing increased black voter turnout especially where there were prior intensive voter registration efforts. In addition, the black vote was unequivocal in its support for the Democratic ticket, a factor which caused some post-election commentators to talk of "racial polarization." By this they meant that 1984 saw a vast majority of whites going one way while 90% of blacks went another. To some observers, this was an ominous sign. Namely, they mused that perhaps it meant that blacks were being situated even further from the political mainstream. Let me turn now to the implications of election '84 and join the parade of pundits assessing the meaning of this past political season.

VI. IMPLICATIONS

The first most obvious observation about the election is the distinction between presidential politics and congressional politics. We have known for over two decades about the growing phenomenon of "party decomposition." That is, it is no secret that the only "national" political party system in this country resides, if at all, in the presidency. That office is the only one with even a semblance of a national constituency. Congress is made up of 435 individually elected members plus 100 senators spread over and having their constitutional and political bases in 50 states. These people, more frequently than not, can and do run for office on platforms more geared toward allegiance to local constituents and needs, not to some commitment to a national party standard. The evolving election process puts a premium on individualization, not on party cohesiveness. Thus, when legislators get to Congress, many of them are not necessarily inclined to follow blindly the dictates of a national leader. This has led to substantial fragmentation of the governing process, something political scientists and political commentators have been lamenting (or praising, depending on one's constitutional or philosophical views) for years.

The national political decision-making process is composed of many different power centers, what is often referred to as the complex system of checks and balances. Except in times of widely perceived crises, it is unlikely that any one power center will be able to prevail without substantial bargaining and compromising with the others.

The 1984 election contributed even more so to this political situation. White voters voted overwhelmingly for Reagan in Illinois (66%), but in the same booth gave a majority of their votes to liberal Democrat, Paul Simon, for senator (52%) over long-term incumbent Charles Percy. In New Jersey, the same ticket splitting occurred. Whites went for Reagan by 65%, and for Senator Democrat Bill Bradley by 60%. This was repeated in Michigan: Reagan (65%); Senate Democrat Carl Levin (53%). Iowans sent a Democrat, Tom Harkin, to the Senate with a 56% majority, while returning Reagan to the White House with over 55% of their votes.

There were similar results in gubernatorial races. Madeleine M. Kunin won the governorship of Vermont on the Democratic ticket in the face of a landslide Reagan vote in that state. Republican incumbent governors lost in North Dakota and Washington. "Republicans, who hold 15 of the 50 governorships, won four offices back from Democrats but lost three of their

own to the opposition, for a net gain of one."[14/] These kinds of results make it difficult to conclude, as some observers quickly did, that a "party realignment" was taking place. The fact is that in presidential politics, the Democrats have won that office only three times out of the last nine elections! Put another way, over the last 32 years, Democrats have controlled the White House only 12 years. This fact gets obscured at times in political analysis. In other words, a Republican presidential victory (and with huge majorities -- 1956, 1972, 1984) is not a recent, unusual phenomenon. And when Democrats have won, only once was the victory of landslide proportions (Johnson in 1964). Kennedy in 1960 and Carter in 1976 barely made it.

The point is that we have been seeing the country preferring Republicans for president over the last three-and-a-half decades. At the presidential level, then, perhaps a "party realignment" set in some time ago.

But American politics is not only presidential politics. Congress and the states are very important, especially in domestic policy matters. The fact that President Reagan's coattails were not as long as some had hoped means that the policy debate and the political struggles will likely intensify in the coming years. Professor Caraley has suggested a "political stalemate." The likelihood of a president ramming his programs through Congress without an atmosphere of crisis is slim, possible but slim.

Columnist Carl T. Rowan made the following observations:

> ....The voters gave a very popular president another term, but they sent to Congress people who are not likely to allow Reagan to wipe out much more of the social and racial gains of the last half-century.
> ....those who were most fearful of a Reagan landslide can now rejoice in the fact that voters chose for the 99th Congress people who are not likely to let Reagan do great violence to medical programs for the aged and the poor....take money away from public schoolchildren and give it to affluent kids in private schools... increase military spending to levels more outrageous than what we already have seen....[15/]

A perennial topic for black American politics, one which surfaces especially in presidential election years, is whether blacks should vote so overwhelmingly for one party. The argument goes that the wiser strategy would be to be more willing to support either of the two major parties (or, some have suggested, forming a third party), which would cause those parties to pay more attention to the black vote. Theoretically, this obviously sounds like good advice. Few could quarrel with any strategy that enhanced the group's bargaining power. But there are some other concerns as well. The problem is not the party, but the policy. Black Americans would likely have no difficulty supporting candidates who supported policies in their interests, notwithstanding party identification. This has happened many times before. The problem is the extent to which that is possible in any given circumstance. Apparently most black Americans have concluded, I believe correctly, that their best, long-term interests lie in the direction of a liberal-progressive socio-economic agenda, not a

conservative one. Probably the worst strategy would be to move to the right, playing a "me too" role and attempting to emulate forces that are already safe and secure in the system. Most black Americans are substantially more economically vulnerable than many others in this society. If switching parties or dividing one's support will not likely change that situation, then it is likely wasted effort. If there is the possibility for such change in direction on the part of the Republican party -- at the presidential, congressional, and state and local levels -- then presumably self-interest will prevail and the ad hoc choices will be made.

Clearly, one manifest implication of election 1984 is that more attention should be paid to congressional and state and local races. As indicated earlier, this was one goal of the Jesse Jackson candidacy; namely, to serve as a catalyst for increased black political activism at those levels. At some point, however, such organization and mobilization must come on its own and not await the inspiration of a national galvanizing figure. Already, in some places, this has happened. We must remember that local successes preceded the Jackson candidacy.

It is absolutely important to stress this implication for two reasons. First, a minority group simply will have less chance to influence the larger, national arena precisely because it <u>is</u> a minority. In most states, even if the black turnout had been increased substantially in the presidential race, it still would not have mattered. The opposition was too numerically overwhelming. At specific times, as in 1960, 1976, and 1980, a minority group can intervene and make a difference. But these are quite limited -- possible, but limited.

Second, in the final analysis, the locus of American politics is the local base. People who go to Washington as elected officials come out of local power bases. And given the continuing emphasis on candidate-centered races (not on party), where people pretty much organize and raise their own finances -- especially in primaries -- the attention to local political organization becomes even more important. Indeed, before one can capture the presidency, one must win the precinct. This has always been the case, and it is a lesson not to be forgotten by those who would forge a place for themselves in the American political system.

For this reason, it is important to see what blacks did in the way of winning offices in state legislatures. The 1984 results in terms of black state legislative races were reported by the Joint Center for Political Studies. Blacks ran in 40 states. (They did not run in states with very low black populations: Maine, New Hampshire, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah.) They gained six seats in five states: New York (1); Missouri (2); Georgia (1); Oklahoma (1); Oregon (1); They lost six seats in four states: Illinois (1); North Carolina (1); Kentucky (2); South Carolina (2). There were 372 black state legislators before the November election; there were 372 afterwards. More attention should be paid to winning these less visible, but increasingly important decision-making positions. These slots, in combination with congressional office-holders, could be as important in what happens to the socio-economic lives of local constituents as what happens in a highly visible inspiration-charged campaign for the presidential nomination.

The President and the 99th Congress will be debating issues, approving budgets, and passing laws that will require important response by the state legislatures and governors. The Reagan Administration will likely continue to push for some variant of "New Federalism," devolving more responsibility on the states. States will have much more to say about what social services they pick up or drop, if the Federal Government continues even only a modest retrenchment in those programs. States will be examining their tax structures -- sales, income, and property -- in light of inevitable plans at the national level to revise federal taxes. Such plans certainly will have direct implications for what the states do, since the federal, state, and local taxes are so interwined.

Finally, this brings me to the point with which I began this article--the vignette about Congressman Charles B. Rangel and the tax proposals of the upcoming administration. Those proposals call for quite drastic changes. Clearly, they will be modified. But Rangel was initially, generally supportive. Governor Mario Cuomo of New York was not. Liberals and conservatives lined up on both sides. People began calculating how their interests would be effected. Analysis showed the implications if certain state laws were or were not changed. This, ultimately, is what the governing process is all about. The language and drama of the election season are over; now the politics of governance takes over. The alliances that fought the election might not be the same ones that determine positions on policies. It is important that the same enthusiasm that sent thousands to Jesse Jackson rallies and to the voting booths to vote for him must now be focused on the complex task of proposing policy options, debating positions, and counting votes in legislatures. If this is not done by Jackson's supporters, then it does not matter how good he made them feel in the spring and summer. The point is: are they prepared to sustain that political attention into the chilly arena of policy analysis and political decision-making? Neither is this one dynamic leader's responsibility. It is the task of many people, strategically placed, calculating, counterproposing -- and above all, being held accountable.

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MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND URBAN SCHOOLS

By

Robert E. Fullilove III

I. THE IMPORT OF COMPUTERS

> If the aircraft industry had evolved as spectacularly as the computer industry over the past 25 years, a Boeing 767 would cost $500 today, and it would circle the globe in 20 minutes on five gallons of fuel. Such performance would represent a rough analogue of reduction in cost, the increase in speed of operation and the decrease in energy consumption of computers. The cost of computer logic devices is falling at the rate of 40% per year. Computational speed has increased by a factor of 200 in 25 years. In the same period the cost, the energy consumption and the size of computers of comparable power have decreased by a factor of 10,000.[1]

The computer extends the user's senses and intellect. It is a medium of seemingly infinite capacities that is capable of becoming a laboratory, a simulated universe, a calculator, a library, a data storage/retrieval system, and a tutor. Personal computers are becoming increasingly available to the public. Powerful computer systems that would have cost hundreds of thousands of dollars 15 years ago can now be purchased for less than $500. As computers become more available, efforts to integrate their use into every phase of life are intensifying.[2]

Computers have the potential to totally reshape the socio-economic structure of this nation. Suddenly, a tool of tremendous power, whose limits have yet to be established, is being made available to millions of people. Those who wield its power most skillfully are likely to have an enormous advantage over those who are less skilled. It becomes critical to determine who is gaining access to computers and who will be wielding the power that they convey.

Concern about the impact of computers on society is not simply a domestic issue. In a world that is dominated by technology, computers promise to have a profound effect on the economic productivity of industrial nations. It is possible that in the near future, a nation's productivity will be proportional to the size of its computer literate workforce. Not surprisingly, increasing concern is being voiced in this country about whether America can maintain its position as a leading developer of technology in a world being deluged with computers.[3]

What is meant by "computer literacy?" One of the more thorough elaborations of the term was provided in the Practical Guide to Computers in Education:

1. Computer literate people would be able to program computers to achieve a wide variety of personal, academic, and vocational goals. They would be able to assess, understand,

and if necessary, modify computer programs.

2. Computer literate people would be able to use a variety of preprogrammed computer applications in personal, academic, and professional contexts, and also understand the assumptions, values, and limitations inherent in particular pieces of software.

3. Computer literate people would understand the growing economic, social, and psychological impact of computers on individuals, on groups within our society, and on society as a whole.

4. Computer literate people would be able to make use of ideas from the world of computer programming and computer applications as part of their strategies for information retrieval, communication, and problem solving.[4]

The burden of producing a computer-literate workforce rests with the schools, but over the past decade, alarm about America's schools and the quality of its students has reached panic proportions. Numerous studies and commissions have documented a slow, steady decline in the academic achievement of American students. In A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform,[5] the National Commission on Excellence in Education concluded that the nation's future was imperiled by the poor quality of its students. In Science and Engineering Education for the 1980's and Beyond, the U.S. Department of Education and the National Science Foundation concluded:

> The role of science and technology is increasing throughout our society. In business, in government, in the military, in occupations and professions where it never before intruded, science is becoming a key to success. Today, people in a wide range of non-scientific and nonengineering occupations and professions must have a greater understanding of technology than at any time in history. Yet our educational system does not now provide such understanding.[6]

Similar sentiments were voiced by the National Science Teachers Association (NSTA). In Science-Technology-Society: Science Education for the 1980s[7], NSTA expressed grave concern over the deterioration of science and math instruction in the schools and called for broad based reforms that would result in the allocation of greater resources for science instruction. The Committee on Science, Engineering, and Public Policy, composed of members of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, and the Institute of Medicine, in its examination of the problems confronting America's schools, proposed that such reform might be supported through increased use of computers.[8]

The Mathematics Association of America and numerous journals concerned with mathematics education (e.g., Computers in Mathematical Sciences Education) have been particularly concerned that students develop both familiarity with computers and with the mathematics concepts/skills to derive the maximum amount of potential from computers. To this end, the

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)--a national testing effort, conducted every five years since 1973 to measure the academic achievement of American school children--has attempted to determine what impact computers are having on the mathematics curriculum in the nation's elementary and secondary schools.

In the third mathematics assessment of NAEP in 1982 the proportion of students having access to a computer for learning mathematics had doubled the proportion reported in 1978, from 5% to 9.7%.

> Almost a fourth of the 13-year-olds and half of the 17-year-olds now say they have access to a computer in school. During the same period, the number of 17-year-old students who reported that they completed a course in computer science also doubled, as did the number who said they know how to program a computer.[9]

As computer use is growing in our schools, essential questions are being raised as to who is able to use them and what is being taught with them. One of the most important attempts to analyze the issue of equity in microcomputer use was conducted by John Lipkin of Litigation Support Services in 1983. In a paper entitled, "Equity and Microcomputer Use in Public Education,"[10] Lipkin concluded that the use and spread of technology in America has been consistent with Claus Lenk's "Matthew Effect" ("For whosoever hath, to him shall be given"). The Matthew Effect holds that the privileged members of society are the first to utilize technology--primarily since they are most able to afford its costs--and that their use of it ultimately increases their economic advantage over the less privileged members of the social order.

> If personal computers fulfill their potential to make learning more effective and to increase learning speed, the learners in the more advantaged strata will increase the education gap between themselves and those who do not have access to their personal computer. Higher income learners will become more competent learners, and to the extent that this increases productivity, their income differences will increase. (Nilles, 1980).[11]

If computers are conferring a disproportionate advantage on students in affluent schools, one might expect to see the following:

1. disadvantaged students would be less likely to have access to computers in their schools;
2. disadvantaged students with access to computers would have less hands-on exposure to them than more affluent students; and
3. disadvantaged students would be less likely to learn computer skills that would assist them to become skilled users.

II. COMPUTERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

We examined two recent surveys to evaluate how computers were being used in the schools. The first was The Instructional Use of Computers in

Public Schools, Spring 1982.[12/] This survey, contracted by the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics, was not originally designed to compare affluent and non-affluent schools. However, it does permit a comparison of urban and suburban schools and of Title I and non-Title I schools (Title I schools are those that receive federal grants to create programs for children of low-income families). If the assumption is made that suburban schools are generally more affluent than urban or rural schools, or that non-Title I schools are more affluent than Title I schools, then some general assessment of the impact of computers on the schools of advantaged and disadvantaged students may be attempted.

In general the survey did not support the assertion that suburban schools or non-Title I schools are demonstrably more advantaged with respect to access to computers, but it did report important differences in the kind of instruction students were likely to receive in suburban and urban schools.

1. Computers were not significantly more accessible to suburban students than to rural or urban students.

Although urban schools in the survey were somewhat less likely to have computers (33% of all urban schools had computers) than suburban (37%) or rural schools (37%), urban schools boasted an average of 6.8 computers per school, as compared with 3.9 computers per suburban schools and 3.0 computers per rural school. (Table 1)

Urban schools with computers averaged only slightly fewer hours per computer (383.6) than suburban schools (397.9 hours) but made slightly more time available per student use (10.5 hours per student) than did rural (9.9 hours) or suburban schools (7.9 hours). In terms of availability and exposure to computers, therefore, urban schools appeared to be at no serious disadvantage when compared to rural and suburban schools and at a distinct advantage with respect to the number of computers per school and the number of hours of use provided per student. (Table 2)

2. Suburban children were only somewhat more likely to receive instruction in computer literacy and computer science than urban children, but urban children were much more likely to receive compensatory/remedial instruction than suburban children.

As indicated in Table 3, urban schools were much more likely to use microcomputers for compensatory/remedial and basic academic skills instruction (24%) than were rural (13%) or suburban schools (9%). However, urban schools spent approximately the same amount of time on computer literacy and on computer science instruction (31% and 21%, respectively) as rural (31% and 22%) schools and slightly less than suburban schools (37% and 25%). Moreover, urban schools spent considerably more time on computer science (47%) using computer terminals (as opposed to microcomputers) than did rural (26%) or suburban (29%) schools.

Urban schools did not differ significantly from rural or suburban schools with respect to the number of computer literate teachers per

school (8.8 "qualified teachers" per urban school as compared with 8.6 per suburban school and 5.8 per rural school). But urban schools were more likely to cite a need for more computers, a need for more and better compensatory/remedial courseware, and a need for more staff/community support than were rural or suburban schools.

3. Title I and non-Title I schools differed significantly in some aspects of their utilization of computers.

As indicated in Table 4, Title I schools (1) had slightly fewer computers for instruction (3.7 vs. 4.7); (2) slightly fewer students per computer (35.7 vs. 42.6), (3) significantly greater allocation of computer time for compensatory/remedial instruction (19% vs. 9%), and (4) significantly less time for computer literacy (25% vs. 40%) and computer science (16% vs. 31%) than non-Title I schools.

Though this survey does not suggest the existence of dramatic inequities in the exposure American school children are receiving to computers, it does suggest that students in urban schools and in Title I schools are receiving a great deal more computer-based remedial/compensatory instruction.

Several factors must be pointed out, however. The study made no attempt to evaluate the impact or the effectiveness of computer-based school instruction. Thus, it is not at all clear that the quality of the computer instruction in the schools is as uniformly distributed as the computers themselves appear to be. Further, "Urban" and "Title I" are broad categories, which, though used here to approximate the experience of minority schools, may significantly under report the differences.

It is clear that both urban and Title I schools were the schools most likely to report heavy emphasis on computer-mediated remedial/basic skills instruction in this survey, and that it is extremely likely, as will be demonstrated shortly, that minority students were the principal audience for such instruction.

III. COMPUTER USE IN THE SCHOOLS

Substantial support for this contention is provided by the second survey, conducted by the Center for Social Organization of Schools at Johns Hopkins University. School Uses of Microcomputers[13] surveyed 1,082 microcomputer-using elementary and secondary schools and attempted to determine how computer use in the schools varied according to the school's ethnic composition and the socio-economic status (SES) of its students. For purposes of analysis, schools in the survey were defined as either predominantly minority or predominantly white. Among predominantly white schools, schools were further classified as high SES (affluent), medium SES (middle income), or lowest SES (working class/poor). (It should be noted that fully two-thirds of the minority schools in the survey would have qualified as working class/poor, but for purposes of analysis, the distinction between white working class and minority schools was retained.)

1. Computers were far less accessible in predominantly minority elementary schools than in predominantly white schools, irrespective of the socio-economic status of its students.

An examination of computer use in the survey's elementary schools reveals stark differences between predominantly minority and predominantly white schools. As indicated in Table 5, computers were far less accessible in predominantly minority elementary schools than in white schools. In minority schools the ratio of students to computers was 233:1 as compared to a ratio 183:1 among all schools in the survey.

Of particular interest, however, were differences between white working class/poor elementary schools and predominantly minority elementary schools. These schools serve basically the same kinds of students and are confronting essentially the same set of educational problems. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that they would report largely similar patterns of computer use. This was not the case, however.

In the main, white working class/poor schools made more computer time available to their students, exposed a larger portion of their student body to computers, and spent far more time exposing their best students to the computer than did either minority, middle income, or affluent schools.

Specifically, as indicated in Table 5, computer users in working class white elementary schools spent an average of 35 minutes per week in front of a computer, as compared with 24 minutes per user in affluent white schools, 22 minutes per user in middle income white schools, and 18 minutes per user in predominantly minority schools.

In addition to providing users with more time on the machine, working class/poor elementary schools also exposed a larger portion of their student body to computers. Working class poor schools exposed 35% of their students to computers, as compared with an average of 33% student exposure in middle income schools and 14% student exposure in predominantly minority schools. Only affluent elementary schools, with an average of 46% of the student body exposed to computers, did better.

2. Minority and white elementary schools differed significantly with respect to the <u>type</u> of students exposed most extensively to computers and the <u>type of instruction</u> they received.

Working class white schools appeared to be much more likely to expose their best students to computers. Approximately 51% of the working class white elementary schools used computers most extensively with their above average students while only 26% of the predominantly minority elementary schools provided computer activities for above average students. Predominantly minority schools, by contrast, were much more likely to report that their most extensive use of computers was with below average students (32%). Only 10% of the working class white schools, 12% of the middle income, and 16% of the affluent white elementary schools targeted computer uses for their below average students.

Working class white elementary schools were also significantly more likely to report that their most extensive instructional use of the computer was in programming/computer science (49%) and least likely to report extensive use of drill and practice instruction (9%). Minority schools were at the opposite end of the spectrum: they were more likely to report extensive use of drill and practice instruction (33% reported this as their most extensive instructional use of computers) and much less likely (10%) to report extensive instruction in programming/computer science than white schools.

These findings suggest important differences in the philosophy of computer use. At the elementary school level, at least, low income white schools are much more likely to use computers with their best students than are minority schools. They were much more likely to stress computer literacy and computer science and were less likely to use computers for basic skills/remedial education than were minority schools. Schools serving working class students were more likely to use their computer resources to create skilled computer users than were minority schools.

In many respects, these white working class schools have correctly anticipated the future trend in computer use in higher education. An increasing number of colleges and universities in the U.S., for example, will be requiring that students be computer literate upon graduation from college, and a number of schools -- among them, Massachusetts Institute of Technology -- will be requiring that their freshmen students enter college computer literate.

Marvin Marcus, professor of mathematics and vice chancellor for Research and Academic Development at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is one of a growing group of mathematicians who believe that computers will totally change our beliefs about what and how mathematics will be taught in our schools. "The point of view we take is that computing is part of mathematics [not the other inclusion] and that to use a computing machine creatively and effectively, one must understand certain basic mathematical concepts."14/

These topics include: logic, sets, functions, function optimization, probability, and linear programming. These are the subjects that are at the foundation of the logic and syntax of computer programming. Many of the advances in computer science are due to discoveries made in these fields. In a computer-rich society, Marcus asserts, mastery of these topics will be at the core of a good foundation in mathematics and a part of the mathematics training of every student.

Marcus' text, Discrete Mathematics: A Computational Approach Using Basic, is a prime example of how the computer can be used by students to explore these subjects. The text is sold with a floppy disk that contains exercises and programs related to each chapter of the text. Students treat the computer as a laboratory to be used, for example, in the exploration of number theory or to master the principles of logic. Students frequently create or modify programs to perform experiments involving complex mathematical expressions. Use of the text in conjunction with a personal computer promotes skills in mathematics and in computer programming simultaneously.

Ideally, a course using this text would be offered to freshmen, perhaps as their first college math course. It could just as easily, however, be the terminal course in mathematics for high school seniors, anticipating deeper exploration of these topics in college. However, unless trends in the schools alter drastically, minority students are at extreme disadvantage in preparing for college mathematics at this level of complexity.

Mathematics, it should be pointed out, is not essential for computing, but proficiency in mathematics greatly expands the power of the individual user. As noted by the National Research Council's Science and Technology: A Five Year Outlook, "Computer science has been able to draw many of its most fundamental concepts ready made from mathematics. This fact has greatly accelerated the practical development of computing."[15]

As indicated in the Johns Hopkins' survey of computer uses in the schools, computer resources provided for minority students appear to be directed at improving their basic skills or at correcting a "learning deficiency" and not at having them become computer literate or computer competent. Conversely, working class/poor white youngsters appear much more likely to become skilled computer users if survey results are any hint of the future. To paraphrase Daniel Watt, it is all too likely that white youth are learning how to tell the computer what to do while black youth are being told what to do by the computer.[16]

Considering the level of mathematics skill of the average black student in American elementary and secondary schools, however, it is not surprising that so much computer time in minority schools is devoted to drill and practice or remedial/development work. The National Assessment of Educational Progress has consistently found blacks at all age-levels far below national norms in academic performance, particularly with respect to mathematics achievement.

"Results from the second mathematics assessment of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) clearly document that serious inequities exist in the mathematics education of black and Hispanic students in the United States."[17] As indicated in Table 6A, the NAEP scores of blacks at ages 9, 13, and 17 lagged far behind those of whites and somewhat behind those of Hispanics both in 1973 and 1978, although the scores of blacks improved between 1973 and 1978, the gap between their scores and those of whites was not appreciably closed and appears to have persisted into the 1982 NAEP. (Table 6B)

> The improvement found for black and Hispanic students is important but not sufficient. Not only must educators continue to stress the basic skills, they must begin to build on these strengths and focus on the teaching of higher cognitive areas of understanding and application. Moreover, minorities should continue to enroll in advanced mathematics classes.[18]

As shown in Table 7, blacks also lagged significantly behind national averages with respect to mathematics courses completed by age 17. Only 7% of those blacks surveyed, for example, had taken trigonometry: this was almost one-half the proportion taken by 17-year-olds nationwide.

Since trigonometry is a pre-requisite for calculus in most American colleges, it appears evident that most black students in high school have seriously narrowed their career options in high school and have seriously restricted their chances for entering mathematics-based majors in college because of their failure to persist in mathematics in high school.

A study conducted by C. B. Marrett of the Wisconsin Center for Educational Research [19] provides a clearer picture of the distribution of blacks in mathematics courses in American high schools. In a national study that included 11,900 students, of whom there were roughly equal numbers of black and white students of both sexes, Marrett found that black males were least likely to be enrolled in advanced mathematics courses such as Algebra II and calculus, and most likely to be enrolled in general, non-college preparatory, mathematics.

As indicated in Table 8, blacks of both sexes were heavily concentrated in general mathematics and beginning algebra and very sparsely represented in algebra II and calculus. Well over three black students in four were in either beginning algebra or general math while fewer than five in every 100 were enrolled in calculus. Only 3% of the black males surveyed were in calculus (as compared with 4.6% of the black females and 10.1% of the white males).

These findings are hardly new. A paper, prepared in 1980 for the Ford Foundation, and entitled "Factors Affecting the Participation and Performance of Minorities in Mathematics", noted that blacks have historically lagged behind whites with respect to their academic achievement in mathematics and their enrollment in upper level mathematics courses in high school and in college.[20]

As indicated in Table 9, differences in the performance of blacks and non-blacks are evident in the College Entrance Examination Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The SAT is administered annually to more than one million college-bound students. In 1981 the mean SAT verbal score of black college-bound seniors was 332 out of a possible score of 800, and the mean math score was 362 out of a possible score of 800. Among whites these means were 442 and 483 respectively. Well over 75% of the verbal scores of blacks were below 400 (the bottom third of the score distribution). In contrast, only 34% of the verbal scores of whites were below 400. These differences in the relative performance of black and white SAT-takers have persisted for the past three decades.[21]

More dramatically, out of 75,425 black SAT-takers, only 24 earned SAT math scores in the top range between 750 and 800. Of these, 23 were men. Among students of Asian descent, however, fully 2% of all SAT-takers earned mathematics scores above 750. Significantly, the number of Asian SAT-takers was only one third that of black SAT-takers (29,675), but Asians placed thirty times the number of students at the top of score distribution (633 Asian students earned scores above 750 as compared with 23 blacks).

IV. PROGRAMS IN MATHEMATICS AND SCIENCE

Although the picture is a dismal one, there is hope. In examining the factors related to minority achievement, Morning, Mullins, and Penick note that a number of programs have been successful in promoting high achievement in mathematics among minority students at all levels of education. Among these were included the Special Elementary Education for the Disadvantaged (Project SEED -- a program working with elementary school children in California); the Mathematics, Engineering, Science Achievement Program (MESA) also in California; the High School for Engineering Professions (HSEP) in Houston; the Accelerated Math Program (AMP) at Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey; and the Professional Development Program (PDP) of the University of California, Berkeley.[22/] In addition to this sampling of programs are the Urban Project of the City University of New York and the Health Science Cluster Program of the University of Connecticut, both university sponsored programs that have attempted to increase the pool of minority high school students pursuing careers in mathematics and science-related fields.

One of the common themes running through the literature describing these programs is the belief that minority students must find the means to build upon their strengths as students. In too many instances, programs created for blacks and other minorities are concerned only with students' weaknesses and deficiencies. The programs cited here assume instead that students are competent and that the means must be found to have that competence demonstrated.

This program philosophy is particularly significant in light of survey findings of heavy use of computers for remedial instruction in schools that serve black students. There is considerable evidence that remedial approaches do not succeed in improving the mathematics performance of students but manage instead to convince black students that they are incapable of succeeding in mathematics.

Typically, remedial programs are structured around students' weaknesses. Diagnostic instruments are used to identify "learning deficiencies." Students are described as "disadvantaged" and continually reminded that they suffer in comparison to "traditional" students. In too many instances, this atmosphere promotes negative attitudes towards the study of mathematics and almost never promotes academic excellence.

The onward march of the computer revolution does not lie in any of the directions currently occupied by remedial mathematics. Students who are not being challenged to develop first-rate mathematics skills are at serious risk of being left behind. It is entirely possible that computers will develop to a point that makes it unnecessary for its user to possess any mathematics competence, but the trend, it has been suggested here, favors the students with strongly developed mathematics skills. Programs which focus too exclusively on "catching up" and not enough on excelling in mathematics are unlikely to provide students with competitive skills for a computer-dominated world.

The potential of blacks to achieve high levels of achievement in mathematics in a highly competitive academic environment is perhaps best dem-

onstrated by the Professional Development Program of the University of California at Berkeley. The school is recognized as one of the top public institutions of higher education in the country and is generally recognized as one of the leading science and technology institutions in the world.

Academically, Berkeley is highly competitive. The average SAT math score of its 1984 engineering freshmen was 698. To provide some measure of how all black SAT-takers nationally compare to Berkeley engineering students: roughly three quarters of the SAT math scores earned by blacks nationwide each year are below 400. The College of Engineering at UC Berkeley took no student in 1984 with scores below 400. Nationwide in 1981, 23 blacks earned SAT math scores above 750; 93 of Berkeley's freshmen engineers had scores at this level.

It is significant therefore, that black and Hispanic students participating in math/science workshops sponsored by Berkeley's PDP program have consistently out performed white and Asian American students in first year calculus since 1978. At Berkeley, students majoring in any science or mathematics-related discipline must complete at least one year of calculus satisfactorily in order to qualify for advanced coursework. First year calculus has traditionally been a graveyard for the hopes and aspirations of minority students, partially because the level of competition has been so rigorous. The success of PDP students in this course over the years has been impressive.

As indicated in Table 10, in the 1983-84 academic year, 63% of black and Hispanic students in PDP first year calculus workshops earned course grades of B or better. When compared with the performance of a random sample of 191 white and Asian students enrolled in the same course, PDP students earned significantly more grades above "B" and no grades of "D" or "F".

It is worth noting that slightly more than one-half of the PDP students in the sample had SAT scores below 600 while less than a third of the whites and Asians had scores at this level. When the SAT math score is held constant, exactly one-half of the PDP students with scores below 600 earned grades of "B" or better compared with 28% of the whites and Asian Americans in the sample with scores at this level. No PDP student, irrespective of SAT score, earned a grade below "C" while one-third of the whites and Asian-Americans in the sample with SAT scores below 600, and 17.6% of those with scores above 600 earned grades below "C".

As indicated in Table 11, the results of the 1983-84 PDP workshop program mirror those reported for blacks in the program since its inception in 1978. Slightly fewer than one-half of the PDP blacks in first year calculus courses earned grades of "B" or better during the period spanning 1978-82 with only two students out of 184 earning grades below "C". Significantly, the program seems to be particularly effective with students with SAT math scores below 600 where non-PDP blacks are at significant risk of failure.

The roots of PDP's success are complex. It is sponsored by Berkeley's faculty under the auspices of its Academic Senate. One of its founders,

Leon Henkin, is presently the chairman of Berkeley's Mathematics Department. One of Henkin's graduate students, Uri Treisman, designed the workshops. The program has been nurtured in an unusually rich mathematics environment. PDP is also an honors program. Students need not have been honors students in high school in order to join. Rather, the program requires of its participants that they pledge to work for honors-level grades in their classes. Participants also pledge to stay two to three assignments ahead of the class in their quest for high grades. This means that PDP students typically spend twice as much time on their studies as the average Berkeley freshman.

PDP has also pioneered in the use of learning groups in mathematics instruction. The use of learning groups involves organizing students into small clusters of four to six students. Members of these groups are taught to work cooperatively together on mathematics assignments. Students critique each other's work, they discuss their approaches to problems and they test each other's mastery of the material. The process of talking about their struggles with the subject matter strengthens their understanding and mastery of the concepts. Group work also assists students in their social adaptation to college and frequently becomes the center of the social networks that students form. Significantly, PDP students persist in the University at high rates -- approximately 80% persist to their senior year -- and membership in the workshop program is believed to have played a crucial role in their retention.

In sum, PDP appeals to well-motivated, high-achieving students. It sets high goals for them, demands hard work from them, but organizes this work in highly efficient fashion. It teaches students to work both independently and in groups, and in so doing, prepares students for the kind of work conditions that are frequently encountered in research laboratories and high technology think-tanks the world over.

But in many respects PDP's methods are not as significant as its accomplishments. At the heart of the program's success is the assumption that black students can succeed in mathematics if excellence is demanded of them and if means to achieve excellence are provided. The program demonstrates that blacks and Hispanics can compete equally with the nation's very best students. Its successes in a competitive academic environment suggest that similar successes can be achieved elsewhere.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

PDP's successes have no small bearing on the use of computers in mathematics instruction in the nation's elementary and secondary schools. There is a danger, it has been suggested in this paper, in concentrating computer resources too heavily on remedial instruction. Moreover, there is a danger in failing to provide high-achieving students with sufficient opportunities to explore the computer's capabilities, particularly in mathematics.

Black students--and most particularly black males--are not persisting in high school mathematics and have effectively selected themselves out of the technological workforce before they have reached their seventeenth

birthday. Survey findings of computer uses in the schools suggest that if these students are being exposed to computers, it is more likely to be in drill and practice and/or remedial developmental applications and less likely to be in computer science or programming. Their peers in white schools--and particularly in working class/poor schools--are more likely, by contrast, to be in computer science and programming and less likely to be using the machine for remedial work. Here too, it has been suggested, blacks may be falling further behind in the race to become computer competent. The quest to have computers strengthen the academic skills of black students may prove to be costly if it means that blacks fail to use computers to become skilled users as well.

Black students are capable of high levels of academic achievement in mathematics but they must be challenged to do so. "Students should be assisted in developing realistic academic self-concepts, but they should be provided with alternatives that go beyond avoidance and dropping out as means of coping with difficult mathematics courses."[23] The computer is a medium that has the potential to provide just such an alternative, but there is some question as to whether that potential will be realized.

The computer is one of the few artifacts of Western Culture that is color blind. The efficiency of its operation and the quality of its output are entirely unrelated to the ethnicity of its user, but rather to the competence of its user. Blacks can achieve high levels of competence in computing as well as in mathematics. The resources of the nation's educational institutions must be directed to bringing this about.

Our analysis of computer use in the schools raises a number of disturbing questions. The first concerns access to computers in the schools--what can be done to insure that black students in our schools will have the same opportunity to work with computers that all students will have in 1985? The second concerns computer use in the schools. Are computers in black schools being used to help students master the intricacies of computer and information technology or are they being used essentially to drill remedial students? The third concerns the degree to which black students are receiving adequate academic preparation--particularly in mathematics--for computers. Are there steps that can be taken to increase the number of black students who persist in mathematics and who master the subject sufficiently well to become skilled computer users?

The evidence suggests that black schools are falling behind both in their use of computers and in their attempts to prepare students for jobs in a high-tech world. In order to remedy the situation, we recommend the following:

1. Efforts must be made to provide black students with access to computers, both in the schools and within the home. As computer prices continue to decline, they will come increasingly within reach of the average American family. Schools are frequently given discounts on computer prices, and a number of institutions have used their purchasing power to assist low-income families to obtain machines at

substantially reduced cost. Federal and state support for programs such as this would significantly increase both black computer ownership as well as the number of black students exposed to computers. Such a program would also have a significant, positive impact on the national economy by expanding the software market and by increasing the numbers of computer literate workers.

2. Computer literacy is rapidly becoming as critical as proficiency in reading, w-iting and computation. Substantially increased efforts tc assist black students to become computer literate must be undertaken. Reports of heavy use of computers for remedial instruction are disturbing, and policies regarding computer-based instruction should be reassessed. Although computer assisted instruction may be useful in helping black students to overcome basic skills deficiencies, such instruction should not preclude efforts to teach students to become computer users as well.

   Current research suggests that the most powerful educational applications of computers are those that help students both to explore and master the computer's many resources and capabilities. Computers can stimulate intricate experiments in chemistry or physics -- they become, in effect, laboratories that students can use to test their understanding of the forces of nature. Computers can perform "thought experiments" that will assist students to explore the intricacies of mathematics and logic. These explorations not only strengthen students' mastery of these subjects, they will also strengthen students' ability to use computers skillfully and imaginatively. To date, the federal government has been the prime supporter of research and curriculum development for computer courseware, but, most experts agree, only the surface of this vastly promising field has been scratched. There is a general perception in the software industry that there are at best, only modest profits to be made in educational computing, and it becomes imperative that federal support for increased courseware development be continued and expanded. Such support, it is believed, will be instrumental in stimulating private investment in educational software production and marketing.

3. Black student attrition in high school mathematics has reached crisis proportions and must be addressed. There is little doubt that a failure to become mathematically literate will have disastrous consequences for these dropouts as they enter the nation's labor pool. We have noted here that proficiency in mathematics is absolutely critical in the development of comprehensive computing skills, and black students as a group are currently at a substantial disadvantage because of their poor math skills.

Programs such as Berkeley's Professional Development Program have demonstrated that black students can excell in mathematics. The tech-

niques of PDP, and programs like it, must be disseminated and adapted more broadly. Significantly, PDP's workshop program was developed with substantial assistance from the federal government, via a grant from the US Department of Education's Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. Programs with federal support have developed successful strategies for working with black math students at all levels of education.

There are no quick, easy solutions to the problems confronting black students in mathematics. But there are promising developments that deserve further, more extensive, exploration and development.

There is also no escaping the conclusion that the federal government has a critical role to play in bringing black students into the computer age. There is an old and very popular expression in the black community: "You got to bring money to get money." The truth of this adage is nowhere made clearer than in an examination of the issues we have raised here. Some federal investment must be made in the education and training of black youth for jobs in the technological workforce. Failure to do so will prove much more costly in the long run.

Although we have suggested that there is a need for increased federal support for educational computing, it is also clear that such support may not materialize. This will require redoubled state and local efforts to insure that computer literacy programs are created and maintained in all schools. A number of states, most notably Minnesota, have pioneered in the development of such efforts. Other states must follow their lead.

Educators have a share in these responsibilities also. They, too, must redouble their efforts to see that black students are exposed to a variety of educational computer applications, not just those that provide remedial drill and practice. Educators must shape the content of learning to match the current demands of technology. Black young people are threatened with exclusion from the worldwide technological revolution, but a partnership between educators and federal, state and local governments can and must be forged to remove this threat. As a nation, we cannot afford to do otherwise.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

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11. From Nilles, J. A Technology Assessment of Personal Computers as quoted in Lipkin, op. cit., p. 11.

12. Data reported in this section were taken from National Center for Education Statistics, Instructional Use of Computers in Public Schools Spring 1982 (Washington, D.C., 1982).

13. Data reported in this section were taken from Center for Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University, School Uses of Microcomputers (ERIC #242-297, Washington D.C., 1983).

14. Marcus, Marvin, Discrete Mathematics: A Computational Approach Using BASIC, (Rockville, MD, 1983) p. x.

15. National Research Council, op. cit., p. 231.

16. The actual quote (taken from Lipkin, op. cit., p. 11) is "Affluent students are learning to tell the computer what to do, while less affluent students are learning to do what the computer tells them."

17. Anick, C. M. et. al., "Minorities and Mathematics: Results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress," Mathematics Teacher, October, 1981, p. 560.

18. Carpenter, op. cit., p. 658.

19. Marrett, C. B., Minority Females in High School Mathematics and Science (ERIC #231-611, Washington, D.C., 1982).

20. Morning, Carole, et.al., Factors Affecting the Participation and Performance of Minorities in Mathematics, (New York, NY, 1980).

21. Profiles, College-Bound Students, 1981 Admissions Testing Program of the College Board, (New York, 1982).

22. Morning, Carole, op. cit.

23. Ibid., p. 19.

TABLE 1

Availability of computer-based instruction in public schools during the 1981-82 school year, by school characteristics: United States, Spring 1982

School characteristics	All Schools	Schools providing computer-based instruction[1]		Number of Computer units[2] used for instruction	Average Number of computer units per school with computers
		Number	Percent[3]		
All schools	81,970	29,028	35	120,908	4.2
Instructional level:					
Elementary	50,800	11,364	22	26,258	2.3
Junior high	11,184	5,822	52	27,590	4.7
Senior high	14,113	10,445	74	62,290	6.0
Combined and other	5,874	1,396	24	4,769	3.4
Region:					
North Atlantic	16,398	6,433	39	27,941	4.3
Great Lakes and Plains	24,472	9,848	40	34,394	3.5
Southeast	18,301	4,967	27	13,607	2.7
West and Southwest	22,800	7,780	34	44,966	5.8
Metropolitan status:[4]					
Urban	19,857	6,490	33	43,932	6.8
Suburban	24,487	9,009	37	35,568	3.9
Rural	36,433	13,400	37	40,837	3.0

[1]With microcomputers, computer terminals, or both.

[2]Computer units include both microcomputers and computer terminals.

[3]Based on all schools in each category.

[4]Schools are classified as urban, suburban, or rural based on their ZIP codes. Urban schools have ZIP codes that comprise the central city portion of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as defined by the Census Bureau. Suburban schools lie within an SMSA, but outside the central city. Rural schools lie outside SMSA's. Information on metropolitan status was not available for an estimated 1,183 schools, 129 of which provided computer-based education. These schools were excluded from the counts and percentages for metropolitan status.

Note.--Numbers may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Instructional Use of Computers in Public Schools Spring 1982 (NCES, 1982) includes Tables 1-4

TABLE 2

Extent of computer usage for instruction in schools with computers, by school characteristics: United States, Spring 1982

School characteristics	Schools providing computer based education[1]	Average number of hours per computer in 1981-82	Average number of students per computer	Average number of hours per student in 1981-82
All schools	29,028	360.7	39.1	9.2
Instructional level:				
Elementary	11,364	399.3	65.5	6.1
Junior high	5,822	323.5	43.7	7.4
Senior high	10,445	367.9	27.9	13.2
Combined and other	1,396	249.9	12.7	19.8
Region:				
North Atlantic	6,433	336.8	37.5	9.0
Great Lakes and Plains	9,848	480.7	39.1	12.3
Southeast	4,967	282.9	42.9	6.6
West and Southwest	7,780	305.6	38.8	7.9
Metropolitan status:[2]				
Urban	6,490	383.6	36.4	10.5
Suburban	9,009	397.9	50.5	7.9
Rural	13,400	308.1	31.1	9.9

[1]With microcomputers, computer terminals, or both. Numbers may not add to total because of rounding.

[2]Information on metropolitan status was not available for an estimated 129 schools providing computer-based education. These schools have not been included in the estimates for metropolitan status.

TABLE 3

Major allocation of computer time for instruction, by type of computer unit and school characteristics: United States, Spring 1982

School characteristics	Schools providing computer based education	Instructional purpose[1]				
		Compensatory/ remedial	Basic academic skills	Learning enrichment	Computer literacy	Computer science
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Microcomputers		(In percents of column 2)				
All schools	27,501	14	19	19	33	23
Instructional level:						
Elementary	11,050	18	29	21	29	7
Junior high	5,774	20	11	19	30	10
Senior high	9,504	6	12	18	39	49
Combined and other	1,173	19	6	4	34	15
Region:						
North Atlantic	6,213	13	15	11	30	17
Great Lakes and Plains	9,224	14	20	15	31	23
Southeast	4,620	12	12	29	40	25
West and Southwest	7,444	17	24	24	33	25
Metropolitan status:[2]						
Urban	5,887	24	26	17	31	21
Suburban	8,610	9	12	20	37	25
Rural	12,874	13	19	19	31	22
Computer terminals						
All schools	5,898	12	13	24	22	34
Instructional level:						
Elementary	958	23	20	28	0	0
Junior high	978	28	10	23	23	14
Senior high	3,620	6	13	21	28	47
Combined and other	343	0	0	50	15	45
Region:						
North Atlantic	1,273	7	0	20	14	51
Great Lakes and Plains	2,319	8	5	27	37	27
Southeast	773	0	37	16	13	30
West and Southwest	1,553	28	22	28	12	33
Metropolitan status:[2]						
Urban	2,034	20	4	30	24	47
Suburban	1,827	2	9	20	24	29
Rural	1,999	12	25	23	20	26

[1]Respondents could indicate zero, one, or more than one major instructional purpose.

[2]Information on metropolitan status was not available for an estimated 129 schools providing computer-based education (excluded from this analysis).

TABLE 4

Comparison of the Availability of Computer-Based Education, Usage, and Needs in Title I and Non-Title I Schools: United States, Spring 1982

Item	Title I schools	Non-Title I schools
All schools	44,164	36,901
Schools with either microcomputers or terminals for instruction	15,268	13,303
Number of microcomputers and terminals for instruction	56,404	62,505
In schools with computers:		
Average number of computer units for instruction per school	3.7	4.7
Average number of students per computer	35.7	42.6
Average number of hours per computer in 1981-82	331.8	392.4
Average number of hours per student in 1981-82	9.3	9.2
Percent of schools with microcomputers indicating major allocation of microcomputers time for:[1]		
Compensatory/remedial	19	9
Basic academic skills	20	18
Learning enrichment	17	21
Computer literacy	25	40
Computer science	16	31
Percent of schools with microcomputers indicating major need for courseware for:[1]		
Compensatory/remedial	44	32
Basic academic skills	41	33
Learning enrichment	42	49
Computer literacy	42	50
Percent of all schools indicating the following as major needs for initiating or improving computer-based education:[1]		
Startup assistance	47	51
Qualified teachers	48	53
More microcomputers	60	68
Suitable courseware	60	64
Staff/community support	42	40

[1] Respondents could indicate zero, one, or more than one major category for this question.

Note.--Information on Title I status was not available for an estimated 905 schools (excluded from this analysis).

TABLE 5

HOW RACE AND SES* ARE RELATED TO MICROCOMPUTER OWNERSHIP AND USE (UNIVERSE: ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS WITH ONE OR MORE MICROCOMPUTERS)

	WHITE HIGH SES	WHITE MED SES	WHITE LOWEST SES	PRED. MINOR.	ALL SCHOOLS
MEDIUM RATIO STU/COMPUTERS	155:1	183:1	192:1	233:1	183:1
MEDIUM % OF USE/WEEK	24%	22%	12%	13%	16%
MEDIUM NUMBER MINUTES/USER	24	22	35	18	23
% OF SCHOOL COMPUTER EXPOSURE	46%	33%	35%	14%	35%

PATTERNS OF USE WITHIN THE SCHOOLS

	WHITE HIGH SES	WHITE MED SES	WHITE LOWEST SES	PRED. MINOR.	ALL SCHOOLS
% REPORTING INTENSIVE USE OF MICRO DRILL AND PRACTICE	13%	18%	9%	33%	18%
INSTRUCTION IN PROGRAMMING	21%	17%	49%	10%	23%
WITH: ABOVE AVERAGE STUDENTS	24%	30%	51%	26%	31%
AVERAGE STUDENTS	14%	9%	22%	12%	12%
BELOW AVERAGE	16%	12%	10%	32%	14%

Source: School Uses of Microcomputers
(Johns Hopkins University/Washington DC, 1983)
*Socio-economic status

TABLE 6-A

Change Results

	Average Percent Correct for All Change Exercises Administered					
	Age 9		Age 13		Age 17	
	1973	1978	1973	1978	1973	1978
Nation	38	37	53	51	52	48
Black	23	26	32	32	34	31
Hispanic	28	29	40	37	38	36

Source: MATHEMATICS TEACHER
October, 1981

TABLE 6B

Achievement by Course Background for 17-Year-Olds (NAEP: 1978)

Level	Mean Percent Correct				
	All 17-Year-Olds	Less than Algebra I	Algebra I	Geometry	Algebra 2
Skills					
Nation	59	42	53	61	70
Black	41	33	42	47	52
Understanding					
Nation	58	42	51	62	67
Black	41	34	40	47	48
Applications					
Nation	44	29	36	46	52
Black	26	21	25	30	30

TABLE 7

Mean Changes in Performance for White, Black, and Hispanic Students

	Age 9 Average Performance			Age 13 Average Performance			Age 17 Average Performance		
	1978	1982	Change Perf.	1978	1982	Change Perf.	1978	1982	Change Perf.
Nation	55.4%	56.4%	1.0%	56.6%	60.5%	3.9%*	60.4%	60.2%	0.2%
White	58.1	58.8	0.7	59.9	63.1	3.2*	63.2	63.1	0.2%
Black	43.1	2.1	45.2	41.7	48.2	6.5*	43.7	45.0	1.3%
Hispanic	46.6	47.7	1.1	45.4	51.9	6.5	48.5	49.4	0.9%

*Change is significant at the .05 level.
Source: Mathematics Teacher (December, 1983)

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF MATH COURSES WITHIN COURSE AND WITHIN GROUP BY RACE AND SEX*

COURSE	GROUP				
	BLACK FEMALES (%)	BLACK MALES (%)	WHITE FEMALES (%)	WHITE MALES (%)	TOTALS
GENERAL MATH					
WITHIN COURSE 100%	29.7	35.3	16.0	19.0	100%
WITHIN GROUP (N=4236	43.8	52.9	22.7	25.0	
BEGIN. ALGEBRA					
WITHIN COURSE 100%	27.5	23.9	22.9	23.8	100%
WITHIN GROUP (N=2666)	25.5	22.5	20.4	21.4	
GEOMETRY					
WITHIN COURSE 100%	18.4	14.4	34.6	32.5	100%
WITHIN GROUP (N=1999)	12.8	10.2	23.1	20.2	

TABLE 8
(Continued)

COURSE	GROUP				
	BLACK FEMALES (%)	BLACK MALES (%)	WHITE FEMALES (%)	WHITE MALES (%)	TOTALS
OTHER INTERMED COURSE					
WITHIN COURSE 100%	24.6	23.0	29.7	22.6	100%
WITHIN GROUP (N=547)	4.7	4.4	5.0	4.1	
WITHIN COURSE 100%	15.6	11.5	37.2	35.8	100%
WITHIN GROUP (N=1630)	8.8	6.6	20.2	18.2	
CALCUL. OTHER ADVANCED COURSES					
WITHIN COURSE 100%	16.0	10.1	34.4	39.5	100%
WITHIN GROUP (N=821)	4.6	2.9	9.4	10.1	
	(N=2824)	(N=2870)	(N=2992)	(N=3213)	

Source: Minority Females in High School Mathematics (ERIC #231-611, Washington DC, 1982)

TABLE 9

SAT-TAKERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1981

VERBAL SAT SCORES
(N=430,005)

RACE OF SAT-TAKERS	SCORE INTERVALS 200-399 (%)	400-599 (%)	600-800 (%)
BLACKS	76	23	1
CHICANOS	62	36	2
PUERTO RICANS	65	32	3
WHITES	34	58	8

MATH SAT SCORES
(N=912,683)

	200-399 (%)	400-599 (%)	600-800 (%)
BLACKS	69	29	2
CHICANOS	46	48	4
PUERTO RICANS	55	40	5
WHITES	22	60	18

SOURCE: PROFILES, COLLEGE-BOUND SENIORS, 1981
College Board (New York, NY, 1982)

TABLE 10

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FIRST-YEAR CALCULUS
1983-84

FALL MATH IA GRADES BY RACE, MEMBERSHIP IN WORKSHOP PROGRAM

	WHITES/ ASIANS N=191 (%)	NONWORKSHOP BLACKS/HISP. N=44 (%)	PDP WORKSHOP BLACKS/HISP. N=19 (%)
A & B	52.4	29.5	63.1
C	25.1	25.0	36.8
D & F	22.5	45.5	0.0

FALL MATH IA GRADES FOR STUDENTS WITH SAT MATH SCORES BETWEEN 400-600 AND 600-800 BY RACE AND MEMBERSHIP IN A WORKSHOP PROGRAM

(SAT MATH SCORE BETWEEN 400-600)

	WHITES/ ASIANS N=57 (%)	NONWORKSHOP BLACKS/HISP. N=26 (%)	PDP WORKSHOP BLACKS/HISP. N=10 (%)
A & B	23.1	18.2	50.0
C	38.6	30.8	50.0
D & F	33.3	50.0	0.0

(SAT MATH SCORE BETWEEN 600-800)

	WHITES/ ASIANS N=131 (%)	NONWORKSHOP BLACKS/HISP. N=11 (%)	PDP WORKSHOP BLACKS/HISP. N=9 (%)
A & B	62.6	54.6	77.7
C	19.8	9.1	22.2
D & F	17.6	36.4	0.0

SOURCE: Professional Development Program
(UC Berkeley, 1984)

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST-YEAR CALCULUS GRADES OF PDP STUDENTS, 1978-82

	PDP BLACKS 1978-82 (N=184) (%)	ALL PDP 1978-82* (N=28) (%)
GRADES		
A & B	63.7	58.9
C	44.6	38.9
D & F	1.1	2.1

FIRST-YEAR CALCULUS GRADES OF PDP WITH SAT MATH SCORED BETWEEN 400-600

	BLACKS (N=122) (%)	ALL PDP (N=182) (%)
A & B	52.5	48.4
C	45.4	50.8
D & F	2.2	.8

SOURCE: Professional Development Program
*Blacks are double-counted in these totals.

BLACKENING IN MEDIA: THE STATE OF BLACKS IN THE PRESS

BY

Samuel L. Adams

I. BACKGROUND

The dynamic process of blackening in American media had its genesis in the continuing struggle for human rights, beginning as early as March 16, 1627, when the Rev. Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm published the nation's first black newspaper and claimed some degree of independence from simply being acted on and written about. In their inaugural edition of "Freedom's Journal," they announced:

"We wish to plead our own cause. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly..."

Their effort to speak for themselves was a bold demand for inclusion of blacks in the press as thinking human beings who understand their plight and could articulate their problems. Their move came amid counter moves. Editors of the New York Sun already had rejected plaintive pleas that their newspaper stop its misrepresentation of the grossly misused darker brother. The Sun responded proudly that it was printed for the white man and that if blacks had anything to communicate, they would have to publish it themselves. And so they did.

Frederick Douglass, the famous black abolitionist, did it best. And the white response to his effort was for anti-black terrorists to destroy his press and dump the publishing equipment into a river near his Rochester, N.Y., base. In the early going, to plead the black cause well resulted too frequently in responses designed to strike terror in the hearts of those purveying information that challenged the inhumanity of slavery and the repressive system that replaced it. Every period of the nation's history yields examples, and the victims include whites as well as blacks.

For example, Hazel Brannon Smith, a white Mississippi newspaper editor who had the audacity to lambaste the white terrorists who murdered Medgar Evers in the mid-1960s, lost her newspaper amid white retribution--withdrawal of advertising and circulation revenue. And some other whites--including those who broke into news pages as supporters of the black cause and who were hatefully called "nigger lovers" (the Viola Luizos, the Richard Moores, the Goodmans and Schwerners)--suffered a meaner fate, death for their part in media events against racism.

Media are dear to those who would control others; consequently, the press usually is the first institution to be seized following a political revolution. Although it is a neutral tool that historically has been used for good and for evil, proponents of an evil system won't wish to tolerate the use of the press to liberate the oppressed. David Walker, who escaped from a slave plantation in the South and became "Freedom Journal's" Boston agent, made himself intolerable in the 17th century by publishing "David Walker's Appeal", a strident tract urging slaves to revolt and fight for

their freedom. He paid for his publishing venture through sales of goods and services to sailors on the Boston Harbor, but his ultimate payment was his life. Southern states placed a bounty on his head, and he soon suffered death under mysterious circumstances. Two centuries later. Ida B. Wells, a Memphis editor who at the turn of the 20th century crusaded against lynchings, learned that her publication, the "Memphis Free Speech and Headlight", was intolerable to southern whites, who sacked and burned it and forced her to flee.

But whites could ignore the news they disliked when it went exclusively into black channels, as in the black press. Infrequently, however, news of blacks boiled out of the ghetto. When unable to ignore it, the white press manufactured and exaggerated black deficiencies. About the only news about blacks that reached front pages was crime stories, and even the most liberal of the nation's news media resisted publication of progress and achievement in the black community. Ironically, even newspapers that editorialized for fairer treatment of blacks were guilty of these transgressions. The St. Petersburg Times, for example, reports in its 100th anniversary magazine that it had been guilty in its early history of referring to blacks as "darkies" and "burr heads", among other things. In 1912 a Times headline declared, "Half 'Lit' Coon Shot At Officer", and 20 years later another headline labeled blacks as "Dusky Denizens of Darktown".

Because there were few exceptions to the practice of ignoring or misrepresenting blacks in the white media, the implication was that blacks tended not to get married and have nuclear families, that they are criminals who can't be trusted, and that as ignorant, happy-go-lucky people their main preoccupation is with sex and dope. Even when blacks did not appear in newspapers as criminals or oddities, there were clear differences in this treatment. A story involving a white woman and a black woman might read, "Mrs. Wendy White and Bertha Black were charged...." On second reference, it might continue, "Mrs. White said the Black woman was her maid." Sometimes the newspapers simply referred to blacks by their first names on second references, not according them the honorific titles "Mr." or "Mrs.", which were reserved for whites. Although the practices continued through the 1950s in the Deep South, a crusuading black press so unified black Americans that the white press practice of simply ignoring blacks suffered setbacks.

II. MARTIN AND MALCOLM OPEN JOURNALISM JOBS

The white press began to change involuntarily under relentless prodding, in the late 1950s when blacks began engaging in activities that could not be ignored, and when individual black leaders managed to force their messages into news channels previously restricted to whites. Try as they might, media managers could not hide a massive Montgomery bus boycott that left buses empty and the bus company near bankruptcy; or the jailings of hundreds of black freedom riders. Civil rights leader Martin Luther King and Black Muslim minister Malcolm X, along with firebrands H. Rap Brown, Stokeley Carmichael and other less flamboyant soldiers of the civil rights movement, manipulated the media so magnificently that mass communications moguls began sending articulate blacks into white living

rooms. And the national press covered their activities so thoroughly that even recalcitrant locally-owned newspapers and broadcasting outlets were forced to carry dispatches from wire services and networks. Suddenly, here were blacks actually speaking for themselves, colorfully and sometimes contemptuously.

Media strategies to help the nation and the press cope with black militancy were varied. Some editors and general managers, at the urgings of white city fathers and business leaders, sought to black out the civil rights news that threatened the stability of their communities. Some others tried to manage the news of racial unrest in order to minimize its impact. Violence was not understood by a nation that had grown accustomed to relatively peaceful communities where blacks had seemed to know their place.

The efforts to explain what was taking place made editors all the more aware that they needed to know what was happening in the black community before the unrest broke into protests or counter-productive violence. But very few newspapers and almost no broadcast media had black professionals on their staffs to send in, to blend in and report back to media controllers.

Whatever their reason, media controllers in heavily black populated urban communities were forced by circumstances to hire black reporters and to eat crow on their earlier excuses that none were "qualified."

The hiring of blacks by newspapers had modest beginnings, but it bore fruit for Black America and the nation. The hiring momentum increased after President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which criticized the press for failing to report adequately on Black America and for their exclusion of black professionals from the newsgathering and editing process. The Commission's study, begun in 1967 and issued in early 1968, is popularly known as the Kerner Commission Report, named for its chairman, Otto Kerner, former governor of Illinois.

The Kerner Commission's major concern with the news media was not their riot reporting, but their failure to report adequately on race relations and ghetto problems and to bring more blacks into journalism. "In defining, explaining and reporting this broader, more complex and ultimately far more fundamental subject, the communications media ironically have failed to communicate," the Commission concluded.

A major finding was that in reporting the 1967 disorders, the news media failed to portray accurately the scale and character of the violence, and the effect was "...a distortion of both mood and event", primarily caused by a lack of black reporters and editors.

Token hiring and a spate of programs designed to lure and train talented blacks made a difference as slow, tortuous progress continued through the 1970s. The increase in actual numbers of black journalists notwithstanding, the rate of increase was so small that it prompted the American Association of Newspaper Editors to join the campaign to increase the proportion of minorities in media employment.

Meanwhile, in the broadcast media, the airways projected, with few exceptions, a virtual white-only world. But swift change came in the political wake of the naming of a black to the Federal Communications Commission and action by the Commission in 1971 to force broadcasters to establish equal employment opportunity for minorities. With former Memphis judge and ordained minister Benjamin Hooks as the nation's first black FCC appointee, the broadcast industry hired minorities for visible on-the-air jobs, first with heavy recruiting emphasis on pretty faces and good voices, rather than journalistic competence.

Moreover, they found special training programs, especially the Summer Program for Minority Journalists started in 1968, to be good sources for talent. Through it all, traditional journalism training sources lagged in the recruiting and education of black journalists and contributed to the poor knowledge of possible careers in broadcasting and print journalism, except the visible on-the-air jobs held by personalities working mainly as weather announcers or hosts for black interest shows. The career possibilities blacks aspired to, consequently, tended to be the media jobs that provided ego-enrichment, jobs that projected one's image or popularized the individual's name, rather than policymaking and content control careers in editing, supervision of assignments, production and sales. A disproportionately larger share of the black students studying for communications careers even now are enrolled in broadcasting programs and aspire to become anchor persons, though there are fewer anchor positions available. This imbalance is leaving the jobs that are most crucial to the control of media content with critically low shares of minority professionals. Suffering mightily from minority disinterest have been such anonymous jobs as editoral writing and desk editing.

This overview of conditions affecting efforts to blacken in the media with minority professionals of necessity skims over some background information that may require greater study and understanding by those fashioning programs to achieve solutions. However, this background should make it easier to understand the nature of the tough problem facing minorities who are bombarded by media messages that help mold them into something they don't necessarily want to be.

III. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Whether one's concerns are about school funding by local districts or federal policies affecting minority employment or a myraid of other problems, their inclusion on the political agenda is likely to depend upon whether the press on the local or national levels consider them significant and cover them. Throughout the nation, the print media take the lead in this agenda setting, and the results of their actions by and large determine the significant occurrences in all aspects of America's life. The problem facing the nation is that the media messages do much to decimate Black America's pursuit of the American dream economically, socially, politically and psychologically.

Portrayals in print and broadcasting so denigrate blacks that the self-images of black children are lowered, and whites begin to incorrectly believe social and political dominance was divined by skin color. The

descriptions and portrayals are especially pervasive among black children for whom the TV set frequently is a seven-hour-a-day baby-sitter. In addition to lowered self esteem, a state of anomie pounds the psyche of many poor and powerless blacks besieged by media content that insults their humanity and intelligence. In other words, they are fed messages depicting their differences, their not belonging, their deviance from the inherited values of being white.

In the socializing and education arenas, communication is a major determiner of what each individual becomes--his career, his earnings, his freedom. The Robert Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, which published its report in the 1950s, listed socialization among the media's major functions. Robert Merton and other sociologists agreed. Despite such a significant function of mass communication for all segments of the society, the Kerner Commission two decades later concluded that the mass media was so dominated by whites that they were failing to communicate the real world to the public. Examples of the false world communicated by American media are easily seen in TV's entertainment fare, especially the evening soaps. A Dallas without blacks makes invisible people of the big black population in the large North Texas metropolis. More pernicious is the widespread television practice of painting virtually everything that is good as white.

The most significant problems of blacks in mass communication may be subsumed under two categories -- content and control. The categories are not mutually exclusive. They are interdependent. By virtue of sharing media control, blacks become a part of media content, even when the measurable evidence is limited to their bylines. That, in part, explains why news content that is fair and beneficial to blacks won't come until blacks achieve parity in media employment, which would assure them of control functions that are associated with news selection, news filtering and management, the decision-making functions that are the main determiners of news media content.

When excluded from the gathering and processing of news, blacks are subjected to being defined by whites who view minorities through prisms distorted by personal and institutional racism. A news item rounding up Christmas-eve prayer services, for example, is likely to unwittingly omit black churches because the reporter lacked interests or contacts in the black community.

To blackenin the news staff won't provide automatic or total solution to the problem, however, because black journalists who are whitenized in their training and experience also are likely to define as "non-news" that which does not titillate whites. It follows that a white with sensitivity and prior immersion in subcultural problems and interests might perform more creditably. Those would be the exceptions. The first moves must be to allow blacks to share control and to improve black-interest content by hiring and promoting them at all levels of the news delivery system: reporters, assignment editors, opinion writers (there are only two dozen black editorialists among approximately 1,000), copy editors and film editors, writers and researchers, and managers in charge of hiring and firing.

In the pages that follow, the study will examine the status of blacks vis-a-vis the media by looking at how they began to enter the mainstream of media, their present employment picture, the record of schools in educating them for journalism, the importance of broadcast media, the question of whether the media unfairly attack blacks in leadership positions, media professionalism and ethics as they relate to blacks, and the controversy that arose over the reporting of off-the-record remarks of presidential candidate Jesse Jackson.

IV. BREAKING INTO PRINT JOURNALISM

Twenty years ago the New York Times, without one black journalist in its newsroom, was covering what its editors proclaimed was "all the news that's fit to print." The Los Angeles Times, which dominated the West Coast newspapers, also had no black newsroom professionals on its staff. And as recent as a decade ago, the Los Angeles newspaper, despite the large number of blacks in professional basketball and football, covered athletics without a single black sports writer among the newspaper's several hundred news staffers. Yet, the lack of black writers did not make these newspapers exceptional. Less than 1% of the nation's professional journalists and photographers working in white media were black.

As the civil rights movement was born, black journalists on white dailies could be counted on one's fingers and toes. Some were household names because of the trails they blazed: for example, Ted Poston of the New York Post, Wendell Smith of the Chicago Daily News, Gordon Parks of the Life magazine, William Brower of the Toledo Blade, William Hilliard of the Portland Oregonian, Albert Fitzpatrick of the Akron Beacon Journal, William Matney of the Detroit Free Press, Collins George of the Detroit News, Thomas Johnson and Paul Delaney of the New York Times, Vernon Jarrett now of the Chicago Sun Times and Chuck Stone now of the Philadelphia Daily News. Almost all of this early wave cut their teeth on the black press.

Because there were so few black journalists working in white media, large national newspapers depended upon white national staffers, such as Claude Sitton of the New York Times, Robert Baker of the Washington Post and Jack Nelson of Los Angeles Times, to keep track of what was happening in the country's black ghettos. They had an impossible task, but the papers assumed that what they missed was unimportant to White America. The reporting depended heavily on official sources, and black newsmakers were mainly those ajudged as being in conflict with the law.

An unofficial count in 1975 of black staffers in the newsroom of the Los Angeles Times found only seven, about half of whom were on the newspaper's national staff. In the same year, at the New York Times, inside observers counted about 15 black journalism professionals, only about 2.5% of a staff numbering approximately 600. The professional newsroom staff at the Washington Post was about half as large as that of the New York newspaper, but the Post had approximately 30 black journalists for a ratio of roughly 10%. The Post's 10% was small, however, when compared to the demographics of the newspaper's home city, which after 5 p.m. becomes so overwhelmingly black that it is good-naturedly called "Chocolate

City." The 1980 U.S. Census shows seven of every 10 Washington D.C. residents are black.

The racial composition of journalistic staffs has significant impact on how the news is covered, especially the political news in cities heavily populated by blacks, as in Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Gary, Los Angeles, New Orleans and Washington, each of which has a black mayor. The chief executive officer of the Gannett Co., which publishes USA Today and 85 other dailies throughout the nation, insists that a newspaper cannot be its best if it does not represent the racial diversity of the community it serves. If he is right, it is correct to assume that coverage of the black community will be improved if the newspapers properly include black and other minority staffers, sharing responsibilities and decision-making power on every level of the operation. In an effort to make USA Today reflect the nation's racial composition, Gannett reports that it built that newspaper with a staff of about 17% minority professionals, and with minority and women professionals on each command level. Some independent newspaper operations have achieved comparable results on local levels. For blacks in newspaper management, for example, the Cleveland Plain Dealer has been singled out by officials of ASNE's Minorities Committee and by Mervin Aubespin the president of the National Association of Black Journalists, for its high percentage of black editors.

Although lawsuits were filed against a few newspapers to force the hiring and promotion of minorities and women, equal employment opportunity in the print media is somewhat impervious to legislation and legal pressures because of the tightrope that must be walked in the American system to avoid transgressions against First Amendment rights. While there is long tradition against government interference in print media the reverse is true of broadcasting. That is the major reason that governmental and community prodding have been able to force the broadcast industry during the last six years to achieve almost twice as much as newspapers have accomplished in efforts to increase percentages of black news professionals. Employment figures in both news categories, however, depict a gloomy profile of the minority workforce.

V. BLACK PRINT JOURNALISTS NO LONGER COUNTED ON FINGERS-TOES

In the workforce of daily newspapers, 2,862 minority persons, including blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and Asian Americans, are employed as newsroom professionals, according to figures of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The figures include no racial breakdown of the groups included in the ASNE report, but blacks represent approximately two-thirds of the total--roughly 1,900. This means that of the 49,600 employees in newsrooms of the nation's 1,710 dailies, about 3.8% are black and around 2% are of Hispanic, Native American and Asian American ancestry.

In 1978 when the ASNE board voted unanimously to establish the goal of parity in employment for minority journalists, minorities were roughly 17% of the national population. With the U.S. Hispanic population growing so fast, it is estimated that by the turn of the century minority journalists would have to be approximately 30% of the newsroom workforce in

order for their ratio to be "equivalent to the percent of minority persons within the national population."

To achieve the 17% target, which the ASNE board described as "fair and attainable", an annual 13% increase in minority employment over a 22 year period was called for. "But six years later the industry's minority employment percent has inched forward by only 1.8%" according to the trade organization's May 7, 1984 report. (See Chart No. 1).

The report based its findings on an analysis of questionnaires returned by 924--more than half--of the 1,710 general circulation American dailies. It was assumed that the 45% that did not return completed questionnaires employed minorities at rates similar to those who made returns. However, those newspapers employing no minorities are more likely to be among those refusing to report; consequently, projection error would apply more to the conservative side, meaning that the share of minority jobs is slightly smaller than the figures recorded. Statistical findings indicate:

--Almost 95% of the journalists of daily newspapers are white. Four minority groups share 5.8% of the newsroom jobs.

--Sixty-one percent--almost two-thirds--of the nation's daily newspapers employ no minority journalists. For the last two years, 60% reported no minority employees, which indicates that the employment rate in this category has worsened by 1%.

--In the ranks of senior editors, minorities almost drew blanks. Ninety-two percent of the nation's newspapers have not one minority person in a news executive position.

--The total of 2,862 minority journalists found in daily newspapers shows an increase of only 62 over last year's total of 2,800. The white share of journalism jobs on dailies was 46,738.

The report concludes that "the newspaper industry remains largely segregated", especially in positions where decisions are made on what news to cover and on what play and space to give the news. For example, "97% of all newspaper news executives are white. Ninety-five percent of all copy editors are white, as are 93% of all reporters, photographers and artists", the report said.

The minorities who had journalism jobs tended to be in big cities with large and medium large newspapers. At least one minority journalist was employed by every newspaper with a circulation of more than 100,000 copies. Below that circulation size, the percentage of newspapers employing minority journalists drops off rapidly. Among dailies with circulations under 10,000, fewer than 20% employ minority journalists. (See Table No. 1).

VI. ESTIMATE OF THE UNIVERSE OF BLACK PRINT-ELECTRONIC JOURNALISTS

Practically all of yesteryear's black journalists were forced to

launch their journalism careers in the black press; many still do so by choice or other reasons. This group, virtually omitted from published research, has had no data collected on their numbers. A conservative estimate, however, is that the approximately 250 black newspapers, which once were the training grounds for all black journalists, now employ less than 500 news professionals, an average of about two at each newspaper. Although the largest black periodicals have sizeable staffs, many black weeklies are boiler plate production operations that print whatever their sources supply. A few whites are on some of the staffs. Typical well-run operations may boast of a staff of 10 to 30 journalists, not counting production, advertising and circulation personnel. Estimates of the numbers of radio, television and cable TV journalists are equally fuzzy, because the FCC does not collect employment data on cable employees, and those working as television and radio journalists are lumped into a category called "Professionals".

In the radio-television professional category, as we shall see below in the broadcasting section of this study, black broadcasting professionals across the nation number 4,020. (See Table No. 2) However, many of these broadcasting professionals, more than half, have no journalism or journalism related responsibilities. If we assume that approximately 1,500 of these "professionals" have some responsibility for those who gather and report the news or that they themselves have journalism related jobs, we may determine that this group combined with about 200 cable TV journalists and about 500 black journalists on black newspapers and magazines and the 2,862 black news people on white dailies will yield a reasonable estimate of the universe of working black journalists. These figures indicate a total of roughly 5,000 blacks working as news people, not counting those who were forced into non-media communication jobs because they were not hired by the media or were ill prepared for positions they sought.

A concern about persons trained for media, but forced to work outside the media, was expressed in an interview with the dean of the Howard University College of Communication. Dean Lionel Barrow listed examples of persons who had successful stints on journalism jobs for magazines and newspapers and in broadcasting, but who shifted to promotional communication work in the political arena or to other jobs. Now they want to return to journalism, but the media won't hire them as they have rehired whites who went to press aide jobs and then returned to journalism, Barrow said.

Also, we are aware of large numbers of inexperienced black "communications" graduates who must find jobs outside the media. A five-year-old study by the Newspaper Fund, tracking new journalism and mass communication graduates, found black graduates to be twice as likely not to find jobs in the profession. Yet, editors seeking to fill jobs in certain categories like editing are finding that few blacks, while in college, target editing as a possible career goal.

Although it is not unusual for young journalism graduates to hone special editing skills through special programs and on-the-job training, they are too few to meet the needs. Meanwhile, the traditional journalism programs are doing little to fill the supply line. Indeed, because com-

munications, like computer science, has been an academic growth area where fewer students are wanted, some quality programs are either turning away, testing out, or turning off potential journalism professionals. And some others are waiting for grants, which then would indicate to them that there is a mandate from forces outside academia to commit resources to the somewhat tougher job of finding and educating minority journalists.

VII. FAILURE TO EDUCATE FOR JOURNALISM

Which comes first? Education for journalism, or jobs in the profession? For blacks, neither commanded much attention until recently. As visiting lecturer traveling through the nation with a journalism technology laboratory in the late 1970s, the author confronted the stark fact that high schools in state after state had few, if any, black students on their scholastic news staffs. Journalism advisers dealt their knowledge and generated enthusiasm for journalism to virtually all-white classes. And counselors were pushing few black students toward journalism careers. Even at the all-black high schools--these include urban pockets like Kansas City, Mo., where about five high schools had virtually no desegregation--black students tended to get no training or experience in journalism. Most of such schools had no newspaper and no other publication except for yearbooks.

Publication experience was inadequate even at some of the black colleges that taught journalism courses. Only about three of the largest programs for print journalism offered their students the discipline of publishing under weekly or more frequent deadlines, not to mention the need for daily deadlines. Inadequate funding and the lack of revenue generating advertising with which to finance publications were among reasons given for the failure to provide disciplined publishing experience. In some instances the problem was compounded by overloading and burning out instructional staff, which in a few cases had to teach up to five writing courses. The small college that had no flexibility in assigning class loads tended to view the intensive instruction and low student ratio required by journalism as suspect, and that often has resulted in understaffing. This was not a problem at certain well-funded developing programs.

Large white universities in too many instances are even more guilty of failing to properly educate black journalism students. This criticism may be heaped upon some institutions for having virtually none to educate or for lagging until strapped industry recruiters begin to offer external funding. Minority institutions and constituents have traditionally evaluated the majority white programs on the number and quality of black journalism students they graduate, not the number they recruit.

On this measure, all but a few of the top journalism programs get low marks. Their interests in increasing the number and the quality of minority journalists have lagged even behind that of a relatively disinterested news industry. Now that the newspaper industry's leadership is showing renewed interest and commitment in hiring of minorities, knee-jerk responses are beginning in the major journalism programs. But they are having difficulty gearing their recruiting and training schemes to attract

and graduate significant numbers of black journalists. Law, engineering, architecture and health sciences, based on the number of blacks training in these disciplines at selected other major universities, seem to be having greater success. The attractiveness of these disciplines is related in part to well funded national programs, such as the Black Student Law Association and the Student Organization for Minority Engineers, which have paid staff and offer scholarships to high school recruits.

The bottom line is that industry and external support for allied health, engineering and science is stronger than that available from the news industry, notwithstanding the millions recently pumped into minority journalism by the Gannett Foundation and the continuing programs of the Dow Jones Newspaper Fund. The sources of big bucks to improve the status of minority journalism education are also the sources for even larger contributions for development journalism in general. Those sources should be encouraged to reexamine the urgent need for minorities in journalism and to increase the minorities in journalism and to increase the minorities' share of their grants.

To increase the effectiveness of each dollar committed, there should be a push to take high quality training to where the students are, and to bring the bright students to where it is fashioned to meet the needs. An added concern is that strategies be developed to increase the proportion of black students who choose to take the journalism writing courses, even if their gaze is on a future in TV. So many of those who say they are journalism students will graduate from mass communications programs that do not pretend to teach the skills of journalism. Similarly, broadcasting students must be encouraged to examine significant offcamera careers in which blacks are under-represented.

Even as traditional journalism education programs spin their wheels, training programs are helping to fill the breech, despite their structural shortcomings. Notable are the programs conducted by the Institute for Journalism Education, an autonomous institute started at Columbia University as the Summer Program for Minority Journalism and later called the Michelle Clark Summer Journalism Program prior to being moved to the University of California-Berkeley after its New York funding dried up. Almost two dozen individuals, many of them college graduates, move through this program each year to careers in print journalism.

Meanwhile, a larger concentration of journalism students are found in a dozen traditionally black colleges and a few formerly all-white colleges in the South and border states. Only one of the programs is accredited by the accrediting council of AEJ, but most of the minority schools argue that the Council's accrediting standards are irrelevant to their needs. One of their gripes is that the Council does not insist that at least one course in cross-cultural communication or race and ethnic relations be required for a degree in journalism. As they should, almost all accredited journalism programs include history of the press and other useful courses. But curricula by and large do not require courses that give the new journalist what he needs to know to report and edit the news fairly when encountering a strange subculture for the first time. Such reporters won't understand the burden of racial and ethnic variance; they will have no understanding of institutional racism and will interpret limited street

violence as riots by black mobs; affirmative action as reverse discrimination; goals and timetables targeting racial parity as racial quotas; fair coverage by blacks of a black political candidate as coddling soft treatment.

Journalism education at white universities is mostly education for white journalism by white professors, except for a token minority in a few of the programs. The graduates, mainly white, are clones of their professors and their newsroom mentors, and their definitions and handling of news reflect their backgrounds.

With the lack of training for covering race and ethnic stories and with the prevailing attitudes among white and black journalists, it should be expected that blacks who have fought against being labeled as "black journalists" would sometimes overcompensate to prove they are good journalists. The news industry puts special pressures on blacks who happen to be journalists to make choices of denying their blackness as an unnatural and asinine way of proving themselves to be good journalists.

To win the plaudits of editors, get front page by-lines or gain broadcast time and choice assignments, the black journalists learn that they must adopt standards of objectivity that white superiors define. Fairness is likely to suffer in situations where the journalist anticipates a lack of understanding by the editor. It means seeing Black America through white eyes. It means becoming a student of what is believed to be the editors' wants. It also means fighting to avoid societal and professional labeling as a hyphenated journalist.

Meanwhile, no one fights being dubbed a "white journalist", a "Jewish journalist", an "American journalist." And no one infers from either label a lack of objectivity. Heavy preoccupation with the objectivity question is encountered frequently among middle management executives who believe that blacks cannot be "objective" when covering events considered unfavorable to black interests. This belief coincides with what they have been taught by precept and example of their professors and professional mentors and by their experiences, and their expectations become a self-fulfilled prophecy.

VIII. BROADCAST DEREGULATION

While accepting the fact that print journalism is the main originator of news and information purveyed among the masses on the American scene, it is important to understand that the broadcast media are more pervasive. The importance of broadcast media is further enhanced by the fact that the broadcasting spectrum, theoretically belongs to all citizens. But the broadcasting licenses granted by the government are tantamount to giving individuals and large companies the right to control, or at least filter, the information Americans receive and to make large amounts of money in the process.

This study does not evaluate or suggest establishment of any alternative means to parceling out or conditioning ownership of broadcast channels. But it does bring into question the traditional lack of racial and

ethnic diversity in access and control of broadcast media, and it explores efforts to cure the problem through legislation, policy-making and adjusting the existing system to meet minority needs. This is so significant that it cries out for detailed discourse on current efforts in the broadcasting industry to change the theory and the policies supporting public, rather than private ownership of the airways and the accompanying requirement that licensees, permitted to use the publicly owned airways, be required to operate their stations "in the public interest, convenience and necessity." Those urging this change are advocates of deregulation of broadcasting -- ending or significantly reducing government regulations requiring ascertainment of public concerns and a variety of other regulations that the broadcasting industry dislikes.

To a large segment, perhaps the majority, of the nation, deregulation is a polyphonous note. It rings sour dissonance to the hopes of potential black broadcast owners, but is beautiful music to the white-controlled broadcast industry. For whites, deregulation would do away with irritants that have cost them money and time and sometimes forced them to battle to retain control of stations that were failing to operate in the public interest. The things that owners hate most are the comparative merit hearings and challenges that threaten revocation of their licenses in favor of other applicants who promise to better serve "the public interest, convenience and necessity." The FCC and most members of Congress have been in harmony with the owners and their trade association, the other major performers in the deregulation quartet.

For blacks, deregulation would do away with the regulatory force that enabled them to gain a foothold in radio broadcasting and which might help improve the state of black ownership and employment in all categories of telecommunications. Even though the regulatory agency already has relaxed its requirements of AM and FM radio, it now wants Congress to codify the deregulation the FCC began in January of 1981.

In addition to the elimination of procedures requiring stations to aggressively determine the needs and interests of their audiences, the deregulation gets rid of guidelines governing nonentertainment programming and commercial time and rules requiring maintenance of comprehensive program logs. To broadcasting's newcomers who forced token entry to the industry through regulation, these are troubling times. They abhor some of the deregulation rules, especially the one that would increase and in five years remove the limit on the number of stations a well-heeled broadcasting conglomerate may own.

Probably the most satisfying occurrence for blacks in the broadcast arena occurred in 1964 when the courts forced the FCC to follow its own rules and to deny the renewal of a broadcast license to WLBT-TV of Jackson, Miss., for failing to operate in "the public interest, convenience and necessity" of Mississippi and Louisiana blacks, who represented nearly half of the viewing audience. However, problems grow out of victories. Backlash from the license revocation and from other challenges and fear of challenges have come back to haunt blacks and their supporters who used the courts and the FCC regulatory process to gain token inclusion in broadcasting.

The response from a nervous, white-dominated industry was a loud cry for deregulation, and that is what is happening with express-train swiftness. The half-century-old Communications Act, which has rules that allow disgruntled outsiders to enter a high-stakes game and force insiders to share their chips, is a law that today's majority broadcasters insist must be changed. The public interest part of the law, they argue, is outmoded. Their new game, deregulation is fast-spreading, and like iron glue, would fasten broadcast stations to their present owners without the owners having to battle every three years for retention of the licenses. The new rules also would allow the freedom for large owners and networks to gain control of ever increasing numbers of stations and would end regulations such as those requiring equal time to political candidates and fairness in controversial broadcasts. (At the end of 1984, the FCC increased the number of TV stations one owner may control from seven to 12, but required that such ownership must be limited to 25% penetration of all TV households).

The Jackson, Miss., case is significant, having led to the kind of changes that make similar changes unlikely in the future. WLBT-TV had practiced fanning racial hatred against black citizens and had on occasions blanked out network feeds of news and comments of prominent blacks such as Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and the late civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King by using the pretext of "Network Trouble." That graphic was frequently flashed across the TV screen as a means of censoring network news programs during the 1950s and 1960s. This was joined by local programming that promoted the racism of the White Citizens' Councils and referred to blacks in broadcasts as "niggers" and "nigras." As has been pointed out, the WLBT owners eventually lost the station, which now is owned by a biracial group that is more than 50% black. WLBT is also run by a black general manager, and continues to be the most viewed station in the state.

The victory in Mississippi ended a single battle, not the war. New skirmishes have developed as the FCC, under the conservative and fiercely ideological leadership of Chairman Mark Fowler, has now plunged forward to gain "freedom" from governmental regulation for broadcasting owners. Fowler has the support of the Reagan Administration and the National Association of Broadcasters and some powerful legislative leaders. But major public interest groups and some legislators, including the Congressional Black Caucus, have slowed the deregulation juggernaut.

In its 217-page publication, Broadcasting and Government, The National Association of Broadcasters proclaimed to its members that "The watchword of 1983 was again 'deregulation.' Both on Capitol Hill and at the Federal Communication, moves were made to deregulate--or, in the words of FCC Chairman Mark Fowler, to 'unregulate'--the business of broadcasting." And so it was.

In February 1983 the Senate unanimously passed Senate Bill 55, which would require substantial deregulation by eliminating requirements for comparative renewal proceedings by the Commission, among other things. In the Congress, House Bill 2382--known as the Tauke-Tauzin Bill would essentially do the same things as the Senate Bill. Meanwhile, other bills put forth in the House seek to limit the free reign Tauke-Tauzin would

give broadcasters. These include: The Swift Bill, HR 2370, which would quantify a public interest standard for broadcast programming; a draft bill by Rep. Timothy Wirth, chairman of the House Telecommunications Subcommittee; a bill co-sponsored by black Congressmen Mickey Leland of Texas and Charles Rangel of New York, and a new bill by black Congresswoman Cardis Collins of Illinois.

The Rangel-Leland Bill would raise the amount of the investment that may be claimed against tax liability for the purchase of qualified used telecommunications properties from $50,000 to $500,000. A purpose of this bill, as with some others, is to make it easier for blacks to raise the high finance necessary to become owners in the telecommunications industry. Before continuing this discussion of black ownership, let us examine briefly the rulemaking and intrigue that cloud the atmosphere in which black ownership efforts are being pursued.

IX. REVIEW OF RULEMAKING AND LEGISLATING

The Mark Fowler Commission, insisting that it wants to achieve "First Amendment rights" and other freedoms for broadcasters, has asked Congress to repeal the equal opportunity and fairness provisions of the Communications Act, and to strengthen the Act's "no censorship" provisions.

It was in September of 1981 that the FCC sent its legislative recommendation to Congress. In his transmittal message, Fowler asked that the Commission be allowed to turn away from the public trusteeship model of broadcast regulation, and that the FCC be empowered to embrace an approach based on reliance on marketplace forces as determiners of program content. Actions since then have been fast:

--The Senate unanimously passed a bill on February 17, 1983, in efforts to codify radio deregulation and eliminate comparative renewals for radio and TV. And in the House the bill of Congressmen Tom Tauke, R-Iowa, and Billy Tauzin, D-La., was introduced to deregulate both radio and television and to eliminate the comparative renewal process. If it becomes law, it also would:

1. Prohibit the FCC from requiring broadcasters to provide news, public affairs, locally produced, or other programs.

2. Prohibit FCC interference in format decisions--for example, jazz, beautiful music, country.

3. Disallow FCC restrictions of the amount, length, scheduling or frequency of commercials.

4. Eliminate ascertainment requirements.

5. End requirements that program logs be maintained in a particular format, but program logs used in the normal conduct of the broadcast business would be retained for two years and made available for public inspection. (H.R. 2382)

The worry of blacks interest groups in that rule changes to accommodate deregulation may end the meager progress they have been able to generate.

X. OWNERSHIP AN EXPENSIVE PIE TO SLICE

In his opening statement at a Telecommunications Subcommittee hearing in Washington, September 19, 1984, black Congressman Mickey Leland sketched the status of minority media ownership, and his picture exposed their exclusion:

"While racial and ethnic minorities comprise almost 20% of the population of this country, minorities own only 1.7%, or 171, of the 10,134 commercial radio and television stations and less than one-third of 1%, or 44, of the estimated 15,647 cable franchises. Minority ownership of common carrier property is believed to be even more negligible." (See Chart No. 2).

Whether minorities own 1.7% of commercial stations as Leland reports, or 1.8%, as information from the FCC and other sources would suggest is insignificant. The important fact is that they own less than 2% of the commercial radio-television properties and less than three-tenths of a percent of the 15,647 Cable TV systems.

Owning a broadcast facility that costs mega-millions is next to impossible for minority individuals or groups who do not have the leverage to get venture capital. The FCC was made to understand this six years ago and something was done about it. However, the current FCC majority is reluctant to use the various policies available to them to cure the gross under-representation of minorities and women in broadcast ownership. Commissioner Henry Rivera, the lone minority person on the Commission, blames the negative "attitudes" of most of the FCC members for their failure to utilize powers they have to assist minority ownership. Empirical evidence in the correctness of his assessment is seen in the behaviors and statements of Commissioners as well as persons who occupy administrative roles at the Commission.

Last August, for example, an Administrative Law Judge acknowledge that court precedent and regulations required him to rule favorably in a case involving a woman, but he grasped the opportunity to voice his dislike for the court precedent requiring special consideration for minorities and women who compete for new broadcast licenses. Because a U.S. District Court had mandated that the FCC grant special merit to minorities and women, it pained him to have to grant the license to a white woman, whose principal competitors included a white male. Refusing to hide his disenchantment with the mandate, the judge put into words sentiments similar to those that have all but washed out support for affirmative action to achieve parity for women and minorities. In his evaluation of the participation of minorities and females in the applications for the Middleton, Md., FM station, the judge wrote:

"On this criterion (the white male applicant) suffers from a birth defect: He was born white, Anglo-Saxon, male. They are not in demand

under the Commission's present deregulatory, comparative scheme... There was a day in the dim and distant past, when (the white male applicant) might well have prevailed in this comparative contest.... But in this day and age, it is doubtful that he would win any comparative proceeding."

The policy the judge disdained was foisted on the FCC by the judiciary, which frequently has been needed by minorities to get the FCC to apply its rules. Most of the favorable policies were established by the FCC, prior to the tenure of the current Commission. They were launched aggressively in 1978 following strong efforts by former Commissioner Benjamin Hooks, now executive director of the NAACP. The minority ownership increases that followed spring largely from policy innovations, which include the following:

--Tax certificates to entice sales of broadcast properties to minorities.
--Distress sales to allow white owners to sell to minorities to avoid expensive hearings when their licenses might be under the threat of revocation.
--Relaxation of working capital requirements for potential minority owners.
--Revision of the minority ownership benchmark from 50% to 20%.
--Listings of minority persons who express interest in buying broadcast facilities.
--Waivers of certain technical rules to promote minority ownership.
--Comparative merit for construction permits sought by minority applicants.
--Low power TV opportunities for minorities by giving them weighted preferences in lotteries for license.
--Revision of acceptance criteria for AM Clear Channel applications.
--Agreement pledging to work with a federal minority business development unit that would assist minorities with financing packages and business practices.

What disturbed Commissioner Rivera most was the fact that the majority of the Commissioners had in recent years rejected what Rivera considered to be legitimate waiver requests by minority group broadcasters and refused to utilize other strategies that would have increased the number of minority broadcast owners. Among owners of full power broadcast owners, the minority share was decreasing rather than increasing under the Fowler Commission, according to a comparison of 1983 and 1984 statistics released by Rivera. Highest rates in the increase of minority owners occurred between 1978-79 and 1980-81. As reflected in the accompanying charts (See Chart 3-6)the Commission approved no distress sales in 1982 nor in 1983, a sharp decline from the large number approved in 1980, only two years after the program was begun by a different Commission. In distress sales, FCC approved tax certificates make the stations a near certainty to be transferred to a minority owner. The lack of activity in this area was an obvious factor in the failure of minorities last year to increase their percentage in the pool of broadcast owners.

These strategies the current Commission is reluctant to use have done much, as has the equal employment opportunity rule adopted in 1969, to tone-in radio and color television with black, brown, and red minorities,

but the progress has been slowed a snail's pace as a result of the Commission's failure to use the strategies aggressively.

Equally important to the push for minority ownership is the more successful, yet feeble, progress blacks and other minorities have made in gaining employment in media. The EEO guidelines of the FCC require every broadcast license to develop a program designed to assure equal employment opportunity and to file annual employment reports on a special FCC form. And since the adoption of the rule, the growth in the minority percentage of the broadcasting workforce has grown from near zero to fairly respectable proportions. But in the last four years the black share of all radio and television jobs only increased one-half of a percent, up from 8.4% in 1979 to 8.9 percent in 1983. In the professional category, the black share of radio-television jobs actually decreased by one-tenth of a percent, down from 8.1% in 1979 to 8% at the end of 1983. It is this professional category that includes the people who determine the broadcast messages. We have estimated above that less than half of them--approximately 1,500 of the 4,020 black radio-television professionals--at some time have something to do with communicating news and public affairs and fit our definition of news people. They include producers, writers, announcers and editors.

The FCC figures show that 5% of broadcasting's officials and managers at the end of 1983 were black, a one percent improvement over the 1979 rate. The actual number in 1983 was 1,632, but some who are listed as managers are responsible only for themselves, often as administrative assistants to white executives. (See Table No. 2)

In summary, black under-representation in broadcasting has gone virtually unchanged in the last four years--with blacks holding about 30% fewer radio-television jobs than the share blacks should have if parity were achieved. Blacks represent 12% of the U.S. population and would hold that percentage of the jobs were it not for racial or other factors blocking their media employment. The chart on Job Category and Rate of Black Employment shows that sales, the occupational area that has become the fastest track to broadcast management, was less than 5% black. Rather than being in the jobs that include or produce policy-makers for broadcasting, blacks were far more likely to be in a dead-end job, or in an ego-fulfilling job like many in the professional category. They are heavily over-represented in the service and labor jobs. Those working in service positions like "gofers" represent 42.7% of the category.

Although the focus of this study is on those who process the news and information, the various other employment figures offer an instructive profile of the extremely pervasive broadcast media. Again, white domination by numbers and position show that the content blacks receive from broadcast media is controlled and filtered mainly by whites. If efforts to increase the commitment of media to include minorities on an equal basis in employment, control and content of mass communication is to succeed, proponents of the strategies developed to achieve these goals must help those in charge of communication policy making to understand the rationale for the existence of the special programs and to use them aggressively to create greater diversity in media.

XI. NEWS MEDIA UNDER BLACK ATTACK

Earlier in this discourse, mention was made of blacks who perceived the press as going to great lengths to tar black leaders with brushes that hide achievements and paint blacks as inefficient and dishonest. These negative perceptions have periodically led to attempts by some black leaders and their organizations to pressure news media to better represent the interest of Black America. Application of this pressure sometimes resulted only in high-level conferences between senior news executives and black leaders -- meetings that some sensitive and progressive editors have institutionalized to diffuse discontent.

The media have shown concern about their low public image, as it was expressed in widespread approval of the Reagan Administration's repression of news coverage of the 1984 Grenada invasion, but they have shown little concern about expressions of dissatisfaction among black leaders and viewers. Nevertheless, both print and broadcast media have been under attack of blacks who argue that they have been or are being mistreated in the press.

For example, Marion Barry, the black mayor of Washington, D.C. has been vitimized by leaks from the FBI and other unnamed sources that in news stories linked him to a woman who was under investigation in connection with the alleged possession of illegal substances.

The guilt-by-association implication caused Barry to lash out with an attack of his own, and he has received widespread support. Some earlier efforts by individual black political leaders ended with news media as clear victors. Among examples, George Brown, was driven from office as lieutenant governor of Colorodo by press coverage that unrelentingly depicted him as an alleged liar, unworthy of the public trust. Brown and former California lieutenant governor Mervin Dymally were the first blacks since reconstruction to be elected lieutenant governors, and both lost their statewide political support amid media coverage that lambasted them. Dymally now is a congressman from his home district in Los Angeles.

A more recent confrontation between the media and black political leader involves Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and the Detroit press. Young, Detroit's first black mayor, unleased his anger after an editorial in the Detroit News implied that there might be corruption in Young's administration. The judgment was based, in part, on reports that a black firm had won a city contract to supply fuel for municipal buses and that the head of the firm had been a friend of the mayor's.

As in cases involving other black leaders, the newspaper was out to do a hatchet job on the mayor without sufficient evidence of illegality or wrong-doing, the mayor's supporters agreed. His detractors were sources of much of the negative information. Both the News and the Detroit Free Press were criticized for reporting a large number of unsubstantiated leaks about the controversy surrounding the contract to a black firm from a black mayor. The broadcast media did not get as heavily involved in the situation as the print media.

Three Ohio State University professors, Lee B. Becher, Thomas A.

Schwartz and Sharon C. West were asked to do a study by a Detroit public interest group were on how the media treated Young. The report concluded that the media were looking for corruption, and when they didn't immediately find it, turned their anger on the Coleman Young administration for failing to give them the information they suspected and wanted.

"The notion that the Young administration and the Magnum Oil Co. 'stonewalled' by refusing to cooperate with the news media and to provide information to the City Council is erroneous and suggests the arrogance of the press. The press has, by damning Magnum and the adminstration for not complying with its demands for information, mistaken the law and the proper structure of a system of government. Most of the information was prohibited from disclosure by law while the grand jury investigated, but beyond that no one is legally entitled to know how a company like Magnum operates." (Page 21, OSU report)

Under pressure from the media, a grand jury examined the Magnum affair, but while the grand jury was meeting behind closed doors, the newspapers published non-stories from leaks and from the mayor's enemies. The study found that:

"The news media sustained and sometimes caused the chain of events in the Magnum affair... Most of the stories were about 10% 'no comment' and 90% repetition of old charges that were false and utimately dismissed in court."

The study singled out Detroit News editorial writers for inaccuracies and bias, and lambasted the newspapers for trying to force city employees to do their bidding. "The news media are racist...", the report continued.

"The symbols of Bull Connor's German Shepherds may be absent in Detroit in 1984, but racism exists at all levels in the city. Racism is much more insidious today because racists cannot acknowledge their racism. Reporters work for institutions, which by their nature are racist. The institutional imperatives of the press in the United States are not consistent with the goals of a black administration in a black majority city. The press feels that if it applies the same standards to Young that it applied to others, it will be fair and not racist. But when a society's principal orientation is inconsistent with the press, the press imperatives become misdirected, counterproductive and, when the society is black in white America, racist."

The comments the Ohio State University research team made could be correctly applied to situations involving black leaders in dozens of other cities, according to data collected by Mary R. Warner for the National Association of Human Rights Workers' Report on Harassment of Black Elected Officials. That report, published in September 1977, summarized case after case in which the press went after black leaders, sometimes ignoring similar stories about whites. It said the pattern showed that the black politician with a less contemptuous style in dealing with whites and with media was less likely to be targeted for unfair articles, but all tended to become potentials when they gathered a strong black constituency, or what the press prefers to call a black bloc vote.

The newspapers hounded Adam Clayton Powell until his death for doing what so many of his congressional colleagues did--live high and take fact-finding travel at public expense. If such a story merits coverage, it should be published, but fairness would require that whites involved in similar junkets, or whatever, be treated in like manner.

XII. PROFESSIONALISM AND ETHICS QUESTIONED

Journalism is a craft that cannot meet all criteria of major professions which are able to control entry through licensing or certification, determine the minimum education required, set fees or income, and police and exclude from practice those found guilty of infractions defined in their codes of ethics. The practice of journalism is a first amendment right open to anyone who is able to launch his own publication or who gets hired to gather and disseminate the news. Moreover, many journalists come to their jobs without a prescribed educational background, without the approval of a certified journalism school, with no ability to set their own fees or income, and often without knowledge of the code of ethics approved by journalism trade associations.

Despite the lack of ability to enforce conformity to a code, the best trained journalists strive to be professional and ethical. Central to this conduct is fairness, because it is silly to think that a journalists or anyone can, like a value-free machine, be "objective." Standards of performance, though not clearly defined, have enough commonality to offer guidance to news people unless they are bent on sensationalism, have low regard for the public interest and have low regard for maintaining professional and ethical standards. These standards should be the same for both black and white reporters, but the industry is prone to be more critical of the performances of blacks. However, journalists of both races hide from themselves their lack of fairness, which is one important measure of ethics, and other shortcomings by rationalizing and excusing publishing errors.

When under attack, news reporters often rationalize that their stories must have been "straight down the middle" because they provoked complaints from two sides of a controversy. That, however, is no indicator of "objectivity" and it is a false measure of fairness and professionalism in the handling of news. A controversy may have more than two sides, and the sides that go unrepresented are likely to represent the interests of blacks and others who lack press power. Having the power to include or exclude information from mass consumption, the opportunity to influence or determine national and local political agenda, the resource to misrepresent and overplay public phenomena, and the authority to define and interpret what will be and what won't be news are awesome powers that journalists take for granted. They infrequently correct their published mistakes, which are compounded by being repeated up to a million or more times in one day. And they are too often irresponsible in exercising their power to destroy. Racial and ethnic minorities are their frequent victims. In deference to fairness, journalists must take extra effort to represent the interests of the under-represented.

The famine in Ethiopia went virtually unreported for three years by

American media. When NBC on October 23, 1984 finally chose to cover it, the stories so raised national consciousness that Americans, in the next 30 days, donated more relief than that drought-stricken country had received during the 12 previous months--so little too late. On the other hand, over-representation of the sleezy side of powerless subcultures provoked negative responses-much too often. Many of the stories, though not all, that do harm to black interests are not consciously designed to encourage negative images and responses. But they do.

Just as there are numerous instances in which there was no conscious intent to damage an individual or group, there are many instances in which the journalist wants audience response and pulls levers to get it. Whether the messages are positive or negative, they are likely to provoke response.

For Leneal Geter, the black engineer eroneously convicted and imprisoned in Texas for a year, inclusion of his story on CBS's "60 Minutes" meant exoneration and freedom. For blacks in general, the inclusion of the often-used description--"Police are looking for a black suspect"--increases improper detention, arrests and conviction of innocent blacks, and it creates undeserved, negative images of the entire black subculture. Reporters who regularly use racial descriptions in crime stories generally try to justify their actions by arguing that police reported they were looking for a black or an Indian and that the journalists simply are reporting objective facts. Of course, they could as easily include other irrelevant characteristics, such as the suspect's religion, but don't do so unless religion is relevant to the main content of the story.

Major media, including the wire services, determined in the 1960s that it would not be the professional standard to report racial characteristics of criminal suspects unless the information was relevant to the story. However, some journalists, especially small town reporters and newscasters on small and medium-sized stations, seem to be oblivious to this standard. When black viewers and readers fail to make formal complaints the offending reporters continue with little understanding that their actions communicate incorrect images and do disservice. Rather than measuring objectivity and quality by audience responses, journalists may better measure journalistic excellence by using professional and ethical standards as their scale.

Meanwhile, journalists must have tough hides and be ever mindful that they sometimes must report what will be hurtful to persons dear to them. Readers and viewers may judge them as "traitors", but their plight is little different than that of dutiful police officers referred to as "pigs." Irresponsible and unethical conduct, of course, could make a police officer or a reporter deserving of such references. The significance of these conclusions is reflected in the bitter-sweet report that appeared July 25, 1984, about this author in the magazine supplement marking the 100th anniversary of the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times:

"When Newsweek singled out the best reporters on the 'most dangerous assignment in U.S. journalism--the race beat,' one of them was Adams. Later he won the prestigious Green Eyeshade Award... Tough reporting had its price, however. In February 1984, Adams and other Times reporters

disclosed financial irregularities at the city's black junior college. Two top officials were indicted, and one went to jail...it was the beginning of the end for the college. Its status as an autonomous institution ended, and it became a branch of the white-dominated St. Petersburg Junior College and eventually closed.

"Many blacks reacted to the Times' stories with dismay. To some Adams was a traitor, a dupe of the white establishment."

Black journalists, then, are caught in a crossfire. On the one hand they are accused by white journalists of not being objective, and by some black readers, on the other hand, of being traitors. This is a dilemma they will probably continue to face, but their concerns must remain whether the investigative techniques were ethical and whether the public interest was served by the publication of the story. These concerns did not apply in the media incident that produced the greatest controversy in 1984 -- the one involving remarks by Jesse Jackson.

XIII. JESSE JACKSON AMID ALLEGATIONS

On January 25, 1984, Washington Post reporter Milton Coleman, a black, managed to get a private interview with then presidential candidate Jesse Jackson at a Washington area airport. Coleman, who was making his first of several forays with the Jackson campaign, was carrying an invitation to Jackson from Post editors to attend a party and a promise that the next time he visited the Post he (Jackson) would be allowed to respond to questions on foreign affairs rather than being limited to civil rights and domestic issues. During the interview, Jackson reportedly referred to Jews as "Hymies" and New York City as "Hymie Town." However, Jackson had prefaced his comment with the remark "Lets talk black talk" -- indicating that what he was about to say was off the record and not for publication.

While accepting these conditions, Coleman broke his pledge several weeks later by sharing the remarks with a white Post reporter who then used them as part of a long article on Jackson. The public reaction was swift and devastating. The remarks were universally condemmed and matters were not helped when Jackson delayed admitting the words were his and making a public apology.

Aside from the damage done the Jackson candidacy, the major issue that emerged from the contremps was whether Coleman had acted properly in reporting the remarks given the circumstances under which he was privy to them.

The Hymie Affair led to black reporters becoming subject of news stories. One of these stories caused a flap between two black reporters and Curtis Wilkie, who covered Jackson's campaign for the Boston Globe. Wilkie's February 28 article in the Boston Globe said: "In the frentic world of the Jackson Campaign, comraderie developed between the candidate and black reporters that helped set the stage for Jackson's undoing in the Hymie Affair. Jackson was more comfortable in dealing with black journalists according to press sources, and enjoyed holding court with them."

George Curry the Chicago Tribune and Newsweek's Sylvester Monroe, another black assigned to the campaign, confronted Wilkie for writing a story that questioned their integrity without contacting them. "He (Wilkie) said he didn't have time", Curry said. Everywhere we went (following the campaign), the question was, 'Can blacks cover Jesse Jackson?' Nobody asks can a Jew cover Israel? (or)... can a liberal cover a liberal candidate?"

Coleman, on the other hand, defends the manner in which he obtained and published the Hymie story, despite his admission that he obtained the information under an off-the-record commitment.

However, his effort to compare his report of the Hymie Affair to reports that led to the resignations of former Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz and former Interior Secretary James Watt is flawed. Butz's slur about the sexual and voting behaviors of blacks and Watts' intemperate reference to the disabled were not made under protection of an off the record con- vention. But Coleman implied in a Washington Post article on April 8 and said in a speech in Atlanta on August 17 before a meeting of the National Association of Black Journalists that he would have published Jackson's Hymie reference even if it had been unequivocally off the record because "Jackson was running for President, and that seemed to me to necessitate a higher standard."

An unidentified questioner chastising Coleman for his stance, observed, "What better way to destroy Jesse Jackson than to give amunition to his enemies."

And Randy Daniels, a former network correspondent who resigned to develop the state-run Nigerian broadcasting system, told Coleman, "First and foremost as a practicing journalist for 14 years, I have always understood background to mean not for attribution in any form. If they teach you differently at the Post, that is an education for me."

Further challenging Coleman, Daniels continued:

"You (Coleman) state that two other reporters, at least two, heard the same comments. I'm not sure you mean they heard the same comments from Rev. Jackson under the same circumstances as you, but the fact is that they were not reported (identified)...you stated that you believe there should be higher standards for a presidential candiate. That's your standard. It's no one else's standard. Finally you (were) a reporter covering Walter Mondale. You abided by blanket off-the-record rules on that plane. Yet you do not extend the same courtesy to Rev. Jackson... So my question to you (Coleman) is, are you adopting one standard for Rev. Jackson and another standard for Mr. Mondale?"

Pam Moore of WCBS-TV, Los Angeles, critized Coleman's failure to make it clear to Jackson that while running for high office he was being "held to a higher standard." Les Payne, the Pulitzer Prize winning national editor of Newsday and former president of National Association of Black Journalists, was even more pointed in his criticism of Coleman. To the Washington Journalism Review he said, "When you burn a source, your're saying you don't respect a source. Your're saying, 'I don't give a s--- about that source and I don't expect to go back to him."

Paul Brock, a California publicist who formerly was communications director for the Democratic National Committee, prodded Coleman to explain why he had insisted on a double standard when dealing with Jackson. Coleman replied, "I'm setting higher standards for myself. I don't want to be like them. I want to be better than them."

A spirited defense of Coleman was entered by Lem Tucker, a national CBS news correspondent, who said: "The truly concerned black journalist can achieve a lot more for our race by being excellent. There is no greater power to effect change than a reputation for excellence. That gets you read, listened to, and thought about..."

Coleman assured his journalistic colleagues that he did not report Jackson's reference "to curry favor with white folks at the Post. I am doing just fine. Two years after the Janet Cooke (story) I was asked to serve on the Pulitzer jury." (Coleman was the city editor at the Washington Post when reporter Janet Cooke wrote a senstional story on an alleged black eight-year-old heroin addict that won the Pulitzer Prize. The story was later discovered to have been totally false and the prize was returned.)

Perhaps the two stories had no ill effect on Coleman, but both caused professional problems for other black journalists. The Wall Street Journal implied in a story that the Cooke fabrication resulted from uncritical recruiting of black journalists, something that would not happen at that newspaper. The Hymie Affair fueled questions about black journalists whom white journalists wrote about as being soft on Jesse Jackson and not objective. And a big irony, according to journalists being interviewed for jobs at the Post, is that one of the questions the editors asked was what they would have done had they been in a position to report the Jesse Jackson Hymie remark.

The blacks covering the Jackson campaign probably got their first assignment to a presidential campaign because a black candidate was running. A poignant question now is whether the Hymie Affair will have a sustained negative impact on black progress in journalism. It is an empirical question that will be answered in coming years. Meanwhile, black journalists who are critical of what Milton Coleman did might be asked what they would do in tough reporting decisions where racial interests are involved.

In the view of the author, after agreeing to listen to Jackson's off the record comments, Coleman was honor bound to the agreement. When a news source talks to a reporter, it is the source, not the reporter, who determines under which condition he or she will talk. Only naive sources, however, assume they have an off-the-record agreement without the approval of the reporter.

XIV. MAJOR FINDINGS FOR VARIOUS MASS MEDIA

The data examined for this report confirms the obvious: that the American press, despite its claim of objectivity and its remarkable efficiency in reaching audiences, undermines the image and the socioeconomic development of black America, both by frequently ignoring the news and

interests of blacks and by misrepresenting them.

This is due in part to the gross under representation of blacks in the media, thus limiting their participation in the shaping of messages and images, the realities of their psychological, social and economic being.

The findings also reveal that black exclusion from media is so pronounced and the progress in hiring them is so slow that they face another century of media under-representation unless sharp changes are made. The growth in the proportion of blacks in the news industry's professional workforce has inched forward at a snail's pace, and some indicators, in fact show either no progress or decline.

As a matter of fact, black Americans are so under-represented in ownership and control of the mass media that their ownership ratio can't be recorded in whole numbers in any telecommunications enterprises except radio, where it is one and one-half. In cable television, where all the minorities combined owned only 44, or three-tenths of one percent, of the nation's 15,647 CATV systems. Whites owned 99.9%. Of the approximately 50 programming companies, blacks owned one, Black Entertainment Network.

In television ownership, blacks now own nine-tenths of one percent of the 1,138 commercial television stations, and other minorities-- Hispanics, Asian Americans and Native Americans--own three-tenths of one percent. That leaves whites owning and controlling 98.8% of the nation's dominant mass communications medium.

In radio broadcasting, blacks have made gains in recent years and now own 1.5% of the country's 8,996 commercial radio stations. Black colleges, now in a few instances--approximately 10--operate their own nonprofit, educational radio station, but their number include only about a tenth of the historically black colleges and a small fraction of a percent of the universe of educational radio station.

In ownership of general circulation daily newspapers, only one of 1,710 dailies, the Oakland Tribune, is black owned, and blacks have been unable to break into upper management of newspapers in significant numbers. Ninety-seven percent of all news executives are white.

Black employment in broadcasting at the beginning of 1984 reached 8% in the professional category, a level directly related to force of the 1971 equal employment guidelines of FCC regulators. However, blacks continue to be under-represented, especially in the decision-making levels of broadcasting where determinations are made on what they hear and view.

Also, media content continues to leave black Americans underrepresented and misrepresented. Both in print and electronic media they are victimized, despite the occasional spurts of laudable media content on blacks and other minorities. Self images of black children are being undermined, and the children are being conditioned for continued deprivation, educationally and culturally, as a result of the media content the large majority of them are wired into.

Political and educational advancement of Black America is lagging as black leaders chosen by their own communities are frequently subjected to harsh media treatment that appears to be more severe than that faced by white leaders in similar situations.

The nation's news media employ a double standard that sees them dealing more negatively with blacks than whites, both as news sources and as subjects of news content.

XV. CONCLUSION

The recommendations, provided they are enthusiastically adopted and well executed, could crank engines needed to power blacks and other minorities into the mainstream of mass media. But care must be taken to guard against misdirection and against fueling charges that backfire.

The nontraditional must be balanced with the traditional. For example, special short courses that recruit minority college graduates for journalism must be joined by traditional high school and college education that generates earlier interest and preparation for media jobs.

Whatever is undertaken to correct the inequities we have described should mesh with what already is being done and should fit into institutional molds that are already in place. This would include enriching and improving the developing journalism programs at black colleges, which is tantamount to taking high quality journalism education closer to where large masses of blacks reside. Among models that meet many of these criteria are training programs launched by the Institute of Journalism Education, which this year expects to begin a management training program to increase the number of minorities with special training for future management jobs. Although IJE is autonomous, its management program, as are its editing and reporting programs, will be university based. But it also will place the trainees on industry jobs during the latter part of their training.

Meanwhile it is hoped that a similar short course will be funded and developed by a consumer interest or political action group to provide training of minority newsmakers on how to utilize the press. They could explore propaganda or promotional technique and gain familiarity with teletex and video tex system in print media, and with communication opportunities in cable TV system, movie and sports TV channels, satellite transmission for TV and radio, two-way cable, and direct broadcast satellite.

This training also should be based at a university and it probably should run only one or two weeks. Near the end of the training, the minority leaders should be joined by selected journalists for unfettered interaction, including exchanges of opinions. (A precedent for this was the 1965 Arden House Conference co-sponosred by the Russell Sage Foundation and Columbia University for behaviorial scientists and journalists to learn about each other's functions.)

The journalist will discover new sources. Minority newsmakers would

gain better understanding of how journalists think and how they define news. The product of these and other efforts would be a larger, more effective pool of knowledgeable black leaders with media links through which "to plead our own cause", plus an increasing pool of blacks who manage and filter media communication and who will be in positions to give Black America a voice in affairs that concerns its well being.

As Cornish and Russwurm proclaimed in Freedom's Journal more than three and a half-centuries ago. "Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations" of black Americans. It is crucial that no additional time be wasted in efforts to cure the problems.

XVI. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Because black journalists -- the pitiful few who have been hired by American media -- are in a quandry that is causing some to bolt from the profession and others to think they are locked in a caste relegating them to eternal serfdom in dead-end jobs, there is the need for a highly visible training program that would prepare minority journalists for management and other career areas where they are under-represented. Such training should be close to where the potential trainees reside so that it won't cause traumtic interruptions in their regular routines.

Black students in communications programs around the nation should be offered special advising and counseling about which programs and which tracks prepare them for their chosen career goals. One significant result would be advance knowledge of whether one's training is designed to prepare him to be a reporter, editor, broadcast journalist, critic or media entertainment, or communication research specialist.

A wire service linking the black college radio stations and the campus newspapers at traditionally black colleges should be developed using a news and information data base that would be available through computers and continuous-loop taped messages that might be activated by telephoning a special number. Topical messages, changed daily, could provide a platform for civil rights leaders, political leaders and community activitists. These services could be a springboard to a larger service that eventually would be made available to black newspapers throughout the nation.

A network of local communication monitors should be established under the sponsorship of a national consumer service organization that would encourage the video and/or audio recording of offensive broadcasting and the clipping of offensive material found in pulbications. The availability of this data might provide a reference bank for promoting improvement of the way blacks are treated in media. This may become of increasing importance as deregulation allows broadcasters more freedom to carry what they wish on the air.

To prevent the erosion of gains made during the last five years as a result of economic and political strategies that are in place, the Congress must assume a legislative role that guides the FCC around deregulation minefields that concentrate and increase media penetration in the hands of the few.

The National Association of Newspaper Publishers and the National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters should form a special council comprised of representatives of both organizations to study and pursue common interests.

Computer listings of black journalists should be developed so that location, recruitment development and placement of talent may be fostered. This would prove especially helpful in locating blacks with the experience needed to move onto opinion pages and into behind-the-camera positions that control media content.

Communications brain-trusts, including various specialits, should be established and their identities widely publicized so that their expertise might be tapped by both connected and isolated blacks needing their services.

Civil rights and community service organizations in small and medium-sized towns should visit local news media offices to explore with management ways they may cooperate to increase the black presence on news staffs. The greatest impact might be felt among the 61 % of the newspapers that do not have one black professional on their staffs.

Black fraternities and sororities and other black organizations should set aside a special fund in readiness for the purchase of news properties that may become available. With proper guidance, black colleges might also explore media ownership opportunities, as Howard University has benefited through a commercial station transfered from the Washington Post.

Black colleges with communication programs should determine whether it is their goal to train practicing journalists for media jobs, and if so they must provide greater opportunity for daily, or at least weekly, publishing by student journalists. The smaller colleges that attempt to offer a variety of journalism and communication specialties, for example, advertising and photo-journalism, but don't have specialists on thier faculties, should become sister colleges in a consortium that shares services and expertise. This may be facilitated by faculty exchanges with major predominantly-white institutions. Publishing a newspaper once a month and failing to produce regular news broadcasts are shortcommings that could be improved by cooperative strategies.

An annual retreat or workshop for veteran and neophyte black politicians and other black newmakers should be established to teach how they may better utilize media and avoid the pitfalls that have trapped some black leaders.

The final day of this three-day/or longer experience might benefit from a newmakers' confrontation with an equal number of professionals. In addition to identifying problems and conflicting areas, the participants would get to know one another.

Scholastic journalism at high schools with heavily black populations should be developed where it does not exist so that black students may receive an early introduction to the joys and challenges of newsgathering and writing.

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Table 1

Percentage of newspapers employing minority journalists

Circulation	1978	1981	1982	1983	1984
Over 500,000	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
250,000 to 500,000	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
100,000 to 250,000	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
50,000 to 100,000	77%	87%	89%	87%	89%
25,000 to 50,000	46%	59%	60%	57%	56%
10,000 to 25,000	23%	32%	35%	37%	31%
Under 10,000	12%	14%	14%	16%	18%

Source: American Society of Newspapers Editors

Percentage of newspapers with no minority news executives, 1984

Circulation	
Over 500,000	0
250,000 to 500,000	43%
100,000 to 250,000	64%
50,000 to 100,000	83%
25,000 to 50,000	94%
10,000 to 25,000	96%
5,000 to 10,000	96%
Under 5,000	99%

Source: American Society of Newspaper Editors

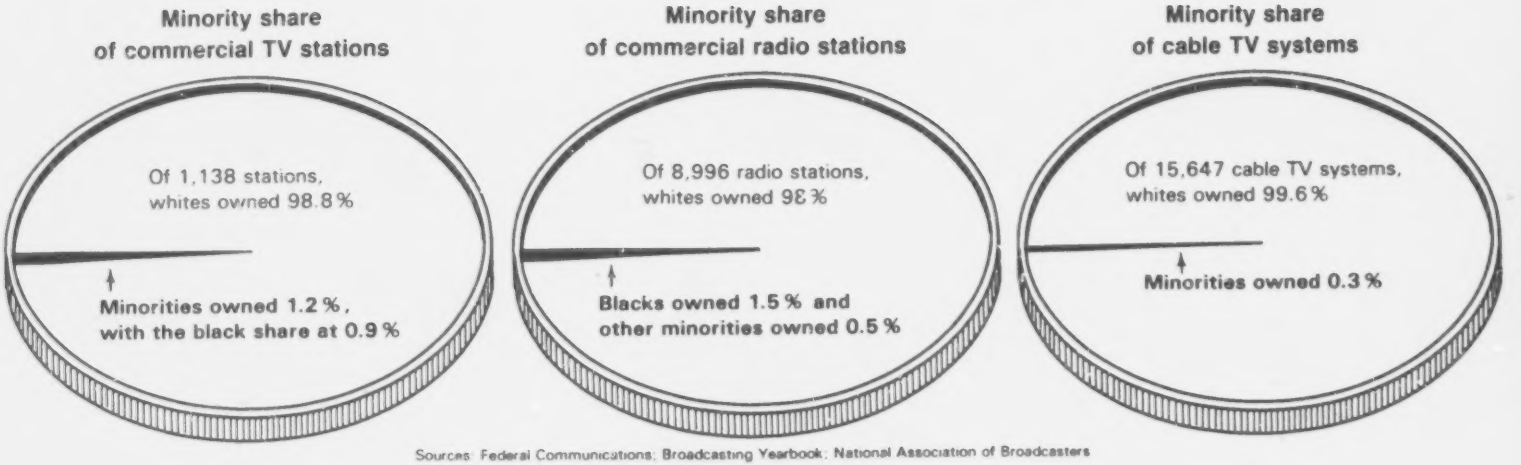
Table 2

Job Category and Rate of Black Employment by Sex in Radio-Television Industry, 1979 through 1983

United States National Totals

Job category			Total employees	Black females	Black males	Total of black employees
Officials & managers	Number	1983	33,022	778	854	1,632
	% Total	1983	33,022	2.4	2.6	5.0
	% Total	1979	28,544	1.7	2.3	4.0
Professionals	Number	1983	50,089	1,621	2,400	4,020
	% Total	1983	50,089	3.2	4.8	8.0
	% Total	1979	42,895	2.9	5.2	8.1
Technicians	Number	1983	29,755	547	2,451	2,998
	% Total	1983	29,755	1.8	8.2	10.0
	% Total	1979	26,609	1.3	7.5	8.8
Sales workers	Number	1983	19,907	409	558	967
	% Total	1983	19,907	2.1	2.8	4.9
	% Total	1979	16,165	1.3	3.1	4.4
Office/Clerical	Number	1983	24,013	3,235	603	3,838
	% Total	1983	24,013	13.5	2.5	16.0
	% Total	1979	22,826	13.1	2.0	15.1
Craftsmen	Number	1983	1,781	14	111	125
	% Total	1983	1,781	0.8	6.2	7.0
	% Total	1979	1,801	1.1	6.7	7.8
Operatives	Number	1983	826	20	108	128
	% Total	1983	826	2.4	13.1	15.5
	% Total	1979	958	1.7	15.1	16.8
Laborers	Number	1983	331	15	66	81
	% Total	1983	331	4.5	19.9	24.4
	% Total	1979	240	4.2	25.0	29.2
Service	Number	1983	1,223	131	391	522
	% Total	1983	1,223	10.7	32.0	42.7
	% Total	1979	1,164	11.3	36.1	47.4
Total all jobs	Number	1983	160,947	6,770	7,542	14,312
	% Total	1983	160,947	4.2	4.7	8.9
	% Total	1979	141,202	3.8	4.6	8.4

SOURCE: Computed with data from Equal Employment Opportunity Trend Report prepared for FCC Industry EEO Unit on Dec. 5, 1983.



Sources: Federal Communications; Broadcasting Yearbook; National Association of Broadcasters

CHART 1

CHART 2

Minority ownership of full power broadcast stations

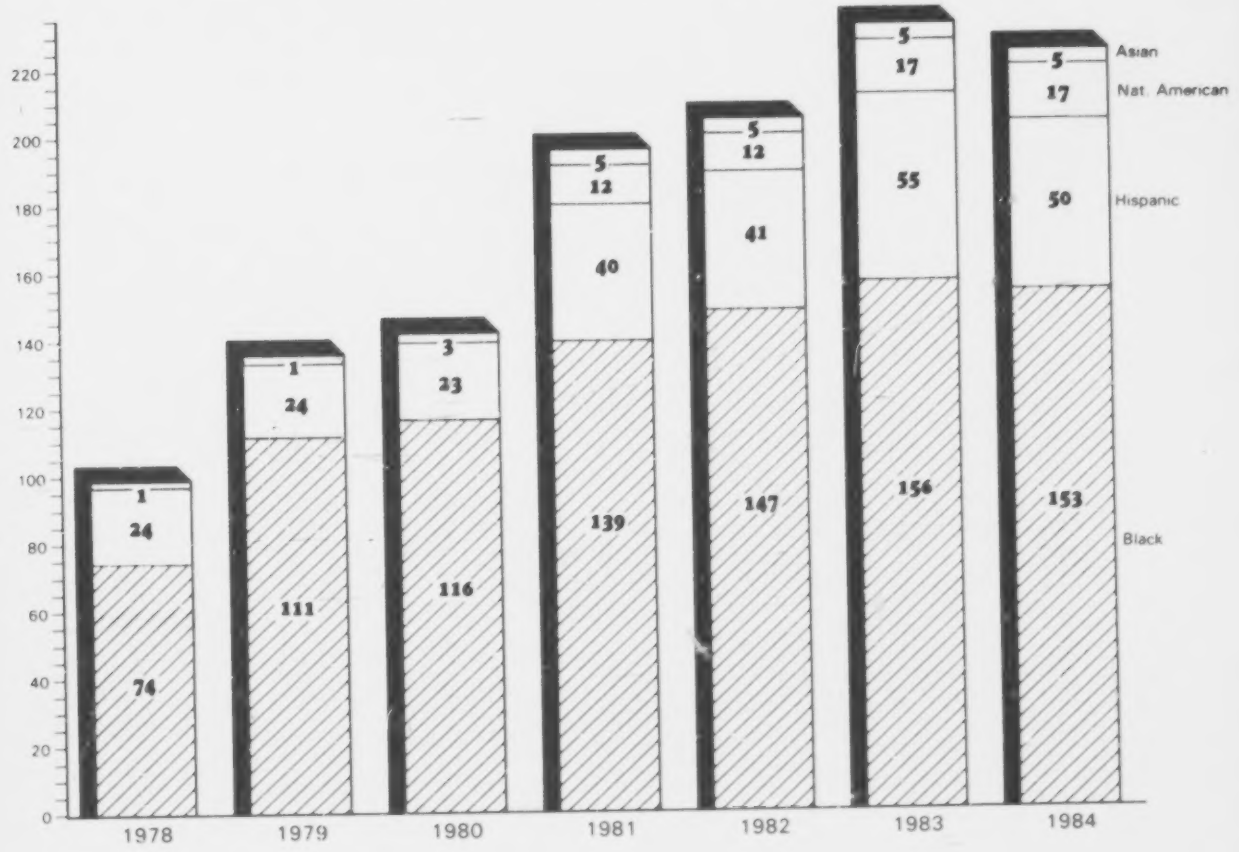


CHART 3

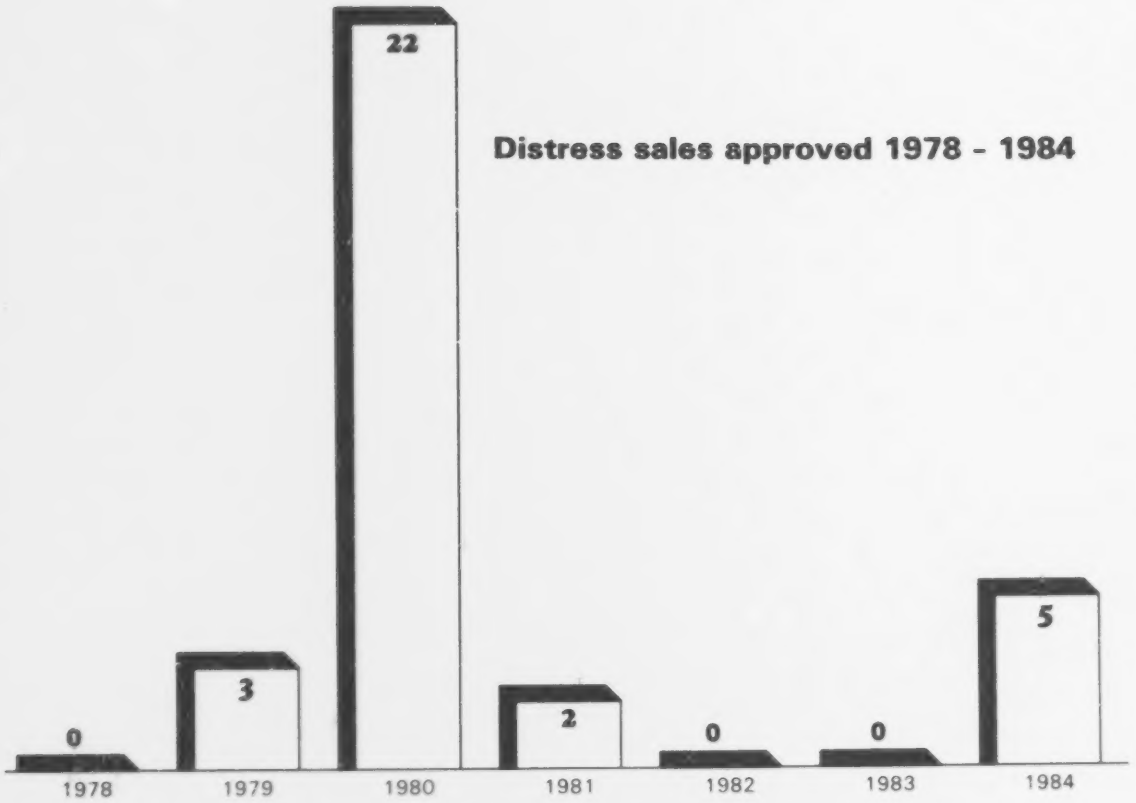

Distress sales approved 1978 - 1984
0
3
22
2
0
0
5
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984

CHART 4

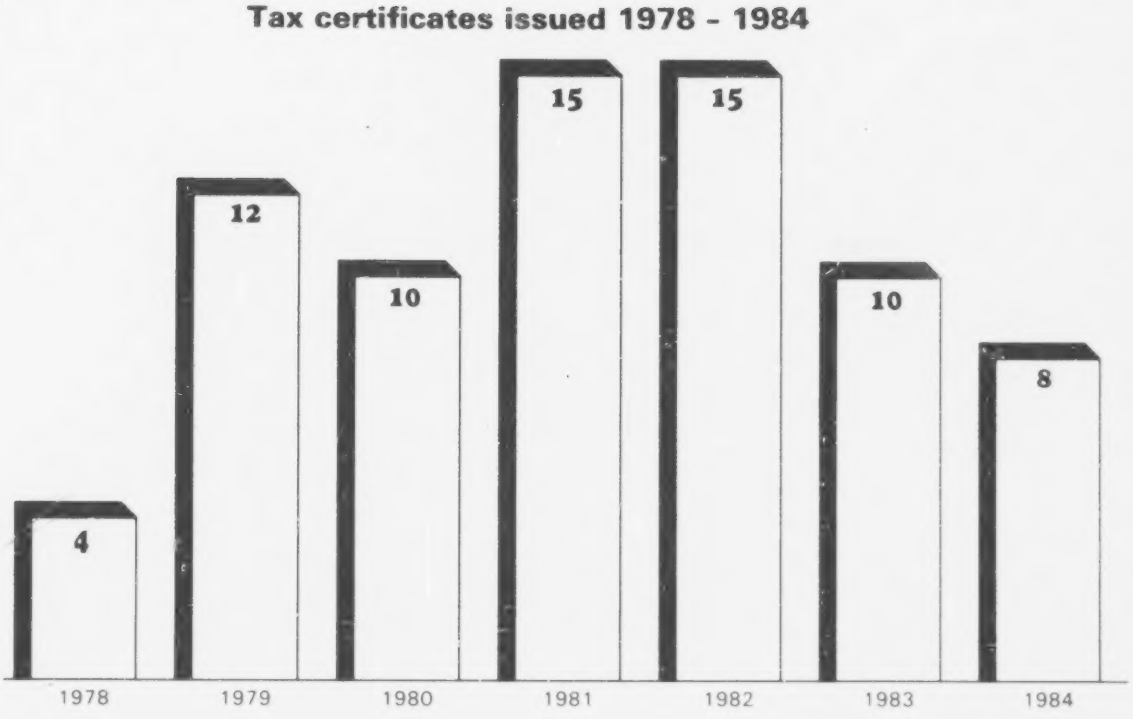

Tax certificates issued 1978 - 1984
4
12
10
15
15
10
8
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984

CHART 5

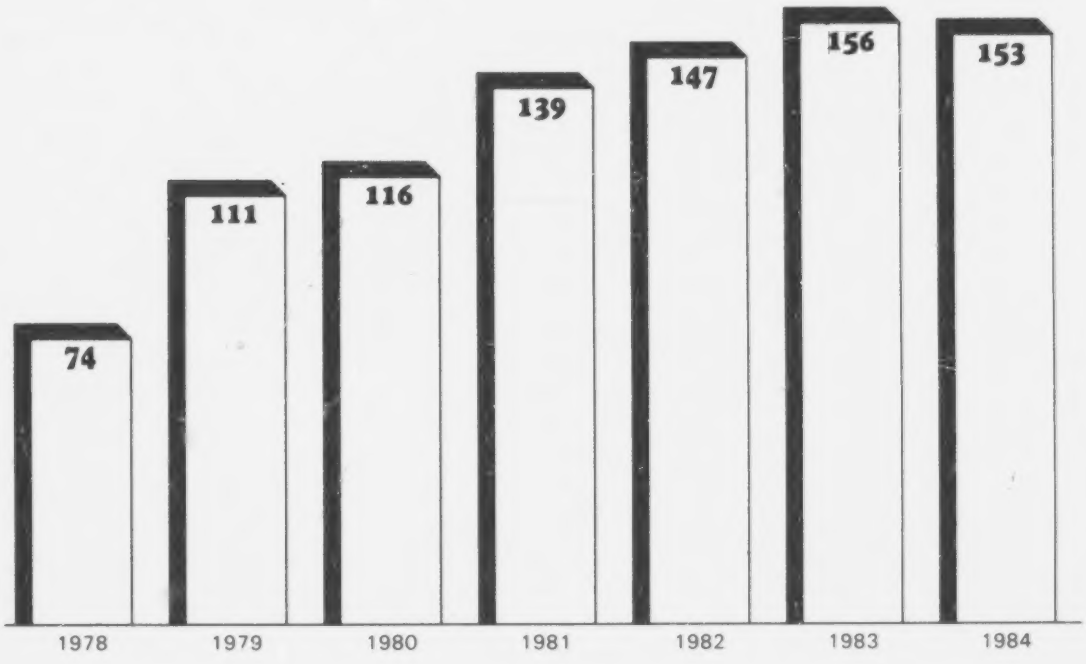
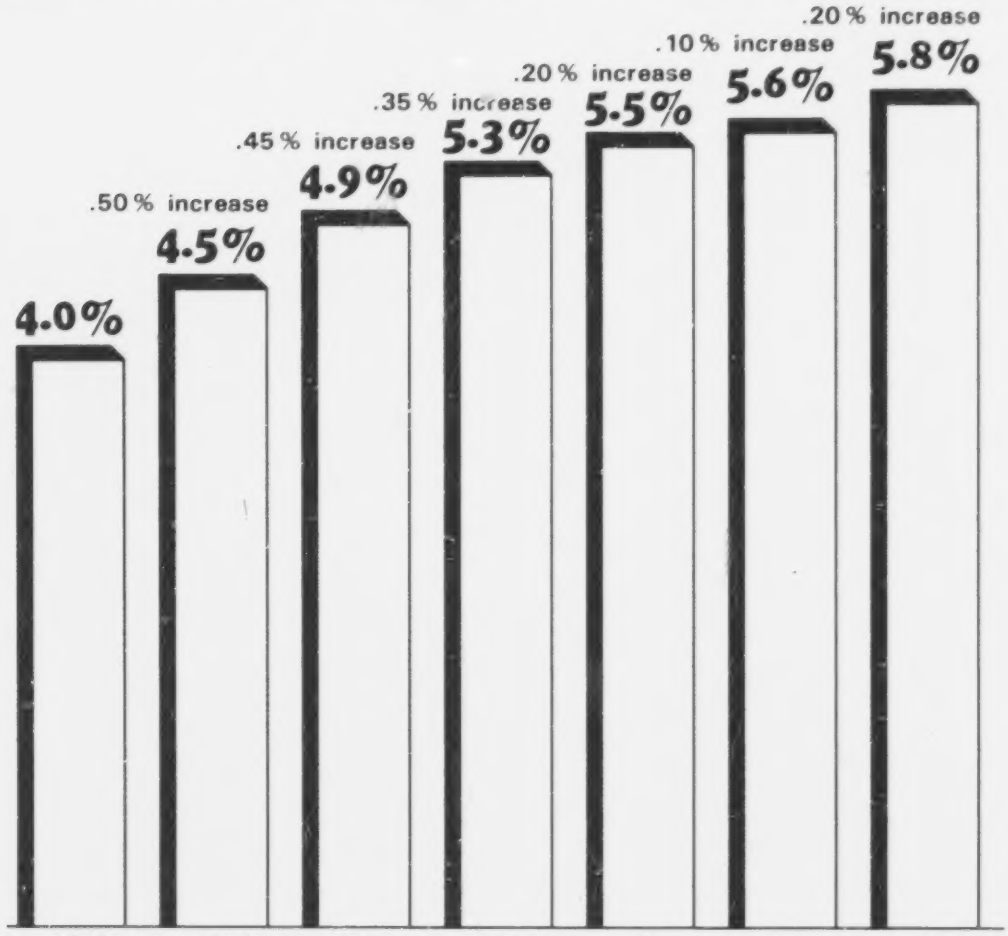

Black ownership in full power broadcast stations
74
111
116
139
147
156
153
1978
1979
1980
1981
1982
1983
1984

CHART 6

Minorities on news staffs of U.S. daily newspapers



Source: American Society of Newspaper Editors

BLACKS IN THE U.S. LABOR MOVEMENT:

WORKING OR NOT?*

By Lenneal J. Henderson

I. INTRODUCTION

"Organized labor in general and black workers in particular have a moral obligation to keep these and other issues like them on the front burner, and at the center of debate as we formulate public policy. Issues like--health care, education, housing, retirement programs, health and safety, the impact of new technology."

> William Lucy Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

"The A. Philip Randolph Institute believes that black unionists must play an active role within their own trade unions. Such activity benefits their local unions, the labor movement and the overall black community."

> Objectives, Principles, Organizational Structure and Operating Policies of the A. Philip Randolph Institute

"AFL-CIO unions in virtually every jurisdiction have been found guilty by the Federal courts of engaging in unlawful racial discrimination. The unions' standard response, in the face of repeated charges of institutional racism leveled by public and private agencies, was first to deny the existence of such practices and then to mount an intensive public relations campaign to demonstrate labor's devotion to civil rights on some issue far removed from union discrimination."

> Herbert Hill, Professor of Industrial Relations and Afro-American Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Black participation within the labor movement, against labor's discriminatory tendencies and for progressive labor stances on major public policy issues continues. Statistically, more black workers than ever belong to unions, a greater proportion of total union membership is black and black union leaders are increasing in number. However, the current U.S. economic malaise, the rise of high-technology-oriented service industries and the fall of traditionally labor-intensive manufacturing in-

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dustries have significally damaged labor's membership base and political clout. "The labor movement," traditionally defined as the struggle of workers for bargaining rights over the terms and conditions of employment,[1] is now a struggle to maintain gains in membership, wages and salaries and benefits. Black workers are inextricably intertwined with labor's struggle to maintain and build on itself and its constituency. For better or for worse, black workers press a two-dimensional battle: an internal battle to eliminate racial discrimination within the labor movement and an external battle to effectively coalesce with the labor movement to retain and obtain worker benefits.[2]

The labor movement's importance to black economic and political development is indisputable. The labor movement is:

(1) An organizational force. The process of bringing wage earners together into a union, enhancing their bargaining position; disseminating essential information to workers regularly and interlinking local, national and federated labor organizations is essential to the organizing efforts of black people, particularly black workers;

(2) A political force. Labor remains among America's most powerful lobbies and a mass political force. Moreover, in its more than 100 year history, the labor movement has represented a range of ideological views from Marxism to the Christian work ethic. Black workers have influenced and have been influenced by those ideological variations.

(3) An economic force. In spite of recent membership woes, unions remain potent economic repositories often offering credit unions, health and disability benefits and pension funds to their members. When they possess "exclusive recognition or jurisdiction," they are the sole elected representatives of workers in a given bargaining unit in contract negotiations with employers. Consequently, they participate directly in economic decision-making by influencing wages, salaries, benefits and working conditions and thereby cash flows throughout the U.S. economy.

II. THE HISTORICAL ODYSSEY OF THE BLACK WORKER

From the beginning of black history in the Western Hemisphere, labor has always been the issue. Slave labor was the prime motive for the trading of African slaves by European merchants. Foner has observed that, "while there are numerous instances of labor unrest and even labor organizations (among whites) in the South before the Civil War, several factors retarded the growth of organized labor, the most important being the slave society which dominated the South."[3] Southern slave states used slaves to blunt seminal union development. If white workers struck, slaves would be used in their place. Many courts in the South declared strikes illegal. In contrast to massive exploitation of black slave labor, free black craftsmen in cities like Boston, New York and Philadelphia were fighting discrimination against them by emerging craft unions. Foner reminds us that, "from the time the first trade unions were formed by white workers in the 1790's to the Civil War--in which period the free black population grew from 59,000 to 488,000--no free Negro wage earner was a member."[4] As Jordan, Hill and others have indicated, the legacy of slavery on the

one hand and severe discrimination against free black workers on the other all but eliminated black participation in the emerging labor movement.[5/] During the Reconstruction period following the Civil War, blacks were rigidly excluded from a variety of rapidly-growing labor organizations. However, black workers, spearheaded by the caulkers of Baltimore, decided to establish their own labor organizations.

Issac Meyers became one of the first and most important black labor leaders in America. He organized a group of black mechanics, longshoremen and caulkers, purchased a shipyard cooperatively and began the Chesapeake Marine Railway and Dry Dock Company. This development enabled the Colored Caulkers' Trade Union Society of Baltimore with Meyers as its President to meet frequently and cooperatively with its white counterpart.[6/] Black trade unions emerged in other crafts. They pressured in- cessantly for inclusion in the new National Labor Union (NLU).

There was some change in the New York picture following the 1869 NLU convention. For one thing the American sections of the International Workingmen's Association (First International), affiliate to the NLU as Labor Union No. 5, appointed a committee in October 1869 to organize trade unions among black workers.[7/] The resultant "Committee on Colored Labor" introduced a resolution to accept blacks in the NLU without discrimination. Nothing resulted from the resolution.

But later that year, 214 black labor delegates met in Washington, D.C. to establish the Colored National Labor Union. Like its white counterpart, the Colored National Labor Union was a confederation of autonomous local and state unions. More importantly, the Colored National Labor Union would reflect a recurring set of themes in the relationship of black workers to the labor movement. Among these themes were:

(1) the need for black workers to fight exclusion from emerging labor organizations by organizing their own labor associations;

(2) the consequent brokering and bargaining role imposed upon black labor leaders involved as vigorously in bargaining for black workers' rights with white labor unions as with employers;

(3) the institutionalization of a "black" labor movement replete with its own network;

(4) continuous negotiation between black labor leaders and political organizations in both the black and white communities; and

(5) the emergence of black labor organizations and associations as repositories of financial and human resources available to black educational, religious, fraternal and other organizations.

These themes would be evident in the twentieth century with the emergence of such prominent black labor organizations as the National Alliance of Postal Employees (now the National Alliance of Postal and Federal

Employees in 1913 and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1924.[8]) These black unions developed strong institutions with a sturdy financial base. They assumed the dual identities of labor organization and civil rights advocacy group. They became key information resources to both new and veteran members. And they constantly interacted with mainstream black organizations like the NAACP and the National Urban League. However, the exclusion of black workers from mainstream labor organization like the emerging American Federation of Labor (AFL) exposed black workers to lower wages, poorer working conditions and fewer benefits than whites in comparable occupations and severely limited the occupational advancement of blacks.

As President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. Philip Randolph embodied the linkage between labor and civil rights advocacy. His threatened March on Washington in 1941 persuaded President Franklin Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802, eliminating discrimination in defense-related industries and establishing a Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC) to carry out this nondiscrimination mandate in all defense contracts.[9] For more than 30 years thereafter, Randolph would occupy the central position in both black and civil rights issues. Through the "red baiting" period of the Cold War, the emerging civil rights movements and the period of black power, Randolph would battle with the AFL and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and, with the AFL-CIO following the merger in 1955, standing firm in his advocacy of the nascent National Negro Labor Council (NNLC).

Founded on October 27, 1951, the National Negro Labor Council, was the result of several converging developments. First, its contributing predecessor organizations were declining. The National Negro Congress, founded in 1936 as a black labor federation, died immediately after World War II. The Negro Victory Committee, organized by black Communists and their allies, also died shortly after the War. Even Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters lost membership as the number of porters, attendants, maids and busboys in the Pullman company declined as a result of economy drives and technological changes.[10]

Second, the emerging battle over Communism and the accusations of many prominent labor leaders, including CIO chief Walter Reuther, that black labor organizations were inspired by "Communists" in their advocacy of fair employment practice committees and other reforms, encouraged black labor organizations to coalesce. The breaking point came when the Detroit Negro Labor Council, led by William R. Hood, joined 22 other councils to initiate the founding convention of the NNLC in Cincinnati.

Third, the NNLC was designed not only to unify black workers and labor leaders in their struggles with the labor movement but also, as they collected dues and joined forces with other black advocacy organizations, they were envisioned as a resource for wielding economic and political leverage in the national black community. However, the relentless accusations that the NNLC was communistic, its interrogation before the Subversive Activities Control Board in 1956 and the resulting escalation in its legal defense costs, forced its leadership to dissolve in 1956.

However, it is also important to emphasize the growing controversy surroundings the AFL-CIO and the civil rights movements in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The AFL-CIO won respect in the black community early in its career when the Executive Council called on President Eisenhower to comply with the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation and deny school-construction funds to any state that defied the ruling.[11] But the Executive Committee drew the wrath of the black community by its refusal to support the early marches of Dr. Martin Luther King and its acquiescence in attacks by the Montgomery Building Trades Council and the Montgomery Bus Drivers Union on blacks boycotting the Montgomery bus system. Indeed, the AFL-CIO did little to counteract efforts of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Council to recruit white labor leaders.

Only the widespread organizing efficacy of the civil rights movements eventually captured support from some AFL-CIO members. Within the union movement, Randolph led the struggle for equality. He introduced and advocated resolutions to "liquidate and eliminate" segregated locals. He clashed with George Meany over his representation of black trade unionists. Both Randolph's internal advocacy and the constant external pressure of the NAACP resulted in the AFL-CIO's removal of the color bar in the trainmen's constitution, and the agreement by the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, following conferences with the NAACP, not to issue any new charters to segregated local unions and to merge segregated ones wherever possible.[12] But throughout the 1960s, tension between the AFL-CIO and the NAACP persisted. Randolph also persisted.

A Negro American Labor Council was founded in 1960 to fight both employment and union discrimination. The NALC acquired a membership of 10,000 within two years. The Detroit Chapter, known as the Trade Union Leadership Council, was the largest chapter with 2,000 members. However, within two more years, the NALC membership sharply declined for lack of funding but advocacy for greater black employment and union participation continued. The NALC participated vigorously in the 1963 March on Washington.

Although the AFL-CIO refused to participate directly in the March on Washington, it did support the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, particularly Title VII prohibiting racial discrimination in employment, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

By the opening years of the 1970s many in the black community were convinced that, despite the burgeoning of rank-and-file groups of black workers, black caucuses, and black power activists seeking, among other objectives, the end of institutional racism on the job and in the unions, the incumbent union bureaucracies were so entrenched that their hopes of success were slim.[13]

However, in 1972, William Lucy, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Charles Hayes, Vice-President of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Nelson Jack Edwards, Vice-President of the United Auto Workers (UAW); Cleveland Robinson, President of the Distributive Workers of America and William Simons, President of Local 6 of the American Fe-

deration of Teachers in Washington, D.C., founded a new organization, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU). CBTU sought greater black worker involvement in union decision-making and in public policies crucial to the black community. CBTU was not immediately embraced by all blacks in the labor movement. Bayard Rustin, then Executive Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, argued that CBTU was unnecessary and that the Institute has been established to advance blacks within the union movement. Later, there would be a rapprochement between the Institute and the CBTU.

However, one casualty of the union movement were the predominantly black trade unions. As blacks were integrated into the locals and into the hierarchy of AFL-CIO-affiliated unions, they abandoned black unions. Coupled with this abandonment, were advances in technologies that rendered some black labor unnecessary. For example, black manual laborers were replaced by machines, postal workers by automated, mail sorting equipment, kitchen workers by automatic vending and dispensing machines and clerical staff by office automation. Where integration and technology failed to assault surviving black unions, public policy did. For example, the Postal Reorganization Act of 1971, converted the old Post Office into a new Postal Service with a mandate to become financially independent by 1984. The legislative intent and structural changes introduced by the Postal Reorganization Act effectively deprived the National Alliance of Postal Employees of exclusive recognition rights for thousands of black postal workers.

To assure its viability, the National Alliance of Postal Employees changed its name to the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees; sought to represent federal employees in agencies other than the Postal Service; improved and extended its health benefit plan and credit union facilities and cleverly invested its financial assets in growth industries within and outside of the black economy. As a result, the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees has managed to grow to over 100,000 members, to prosper financially and to remain a potent political force in the national black community with few exclusive recognition contracts.[14/]

> The National Alliance is also broadening its membership base to include all federal workers, regardless of race or national origin. It is able to constructively criticize the union movement from a experienced vantage point. Nevertheless, blacks continued to struggle against racism and management discrimination, whether in majority or minority unions. Unions were as much a target of civil right advocacy as the practices of employers. Unions were periodically targets of unfair labor practices filed by blacks or charges by blacks that unions were reluctant to pursue grievances based on supervisorial discrimination.

In addition, William Gould documented continued racism in unions in his 1977 study. He identified six union practices that perpetuate discrimination:

(1) the restriction of admissions to apprenticeship programs

jointly administered by employers and industrial and craft unions;

(2) the denial of journeymen cards to qualified black non-unionists;

(3) the refusal of union admission to membership despite constitutional prohibitions;

(4) the creation of segregated auxiliary locals for blacks;

(5) the maintenance of separate lines of progression and seniority which prohibits or discourages transfers by black members into better paying and more desirable jobs; and

(6) the absence of blacks and other minorities from policy-making positions, both selected and appointed, inside of unions.[15/]

III. STRUGGLING WITH THE CURRENT MALAISE

Gould's analysis summarizes the recent and current struggles of blacks in the labor movement. The most critical challenge blacks now face in the labor movement is the viability of the movement itself. Challenges to the viability of unions result from a complex of interdependent developments:

(1) The United States has become a heavily dependent economy. Over 20% of U.S. industrial output is now exported. One of every six U.S. manufacturing jobs produces for export.[16/] Many jobs have been exported to cheaper labor markets abroad. Thus, a decline in traditional manufacturing employment opportunities.

(2) Increasing automation and the technological revolution in many industries is making much unionized employment obsolete. "Robots." "Satellites." "Microelectronics." "Computer-aided design." "Computer-aided manufacturing." Words and phrases traditionally associated with the world of science fiction have recently become part of the real world of work. Their entry has changed the way work is done; how long it takes to do it; where it is performed; and who or what does it.[17/]

(3) Financial constraints on the corporate sector. Many large and small U.S. companies have and are facing unprecedented financial constraints resulting from a combination of (a) international competition, particularly in the auto, steel, rubber and glass industries; (b) rising energy, labor, real estate and other costs; (c) the rising cost of capital; and (d) general economic recession in the U.S. and foreign markets and

(4) Political opposition, particularly from the Reagan Administration's insistence on deregulation, tax reform, and relaxed labor requirements.

These four macro factors have resulted in massive union membership

losses. The proportion of the nonfarm labor force represented by unions has declined from 27.3% in 1970 to just under 19% in 1985.[18] The share of representation elections won by unions has declined from 55.2% in 1970 to 43.7% in 1985.

The first quarter of 1983 was the first negative average adjustment for major collective bargaining settlements in private industry in the 15 year history of the series. Over the life of the contracts, however, adjustments averaged 2.2% annually, also a record low. The last time the same parties bargained (two or three years ago in most cases), average wage adjustments were 7.3% in the first contract year and 5.4% a year over the life of the contracts. First quarter 1983 averages were low because about half of the 546,000 workers covered by settlements had wage decreases. Most of these workers were in the steel industry.[19]

Moreover, if this illustrative first quarter 1983 sample fails to convey the severity of challenges facing the union movement, data on public sector unionism will. As a result of tax and expenditure limitations at the state and local governmental levels and federal civil service and employment retrenchment, public employee union membership rates in the private sector, reached its peak in 1975 with 5,751,000 members and declined to just over five million in 1984.[20] In spite of rapid increases in the number of public sector bargaining units, agreement and strikes between 1974 and 1980 (Table I.), the real dollar value of salary increases and benefits actually declined in the same period.

The results are that anti-union and "right-to-work" sentiments are on the increase and "concessionary bargaining" or "give-back bargaining" has been the mode of some management-union agreements. This kind of bargaining encourages labor to forego increases in wages or benefits in order to retain the absolute number of jobs available. Moreover, management's current strategy is to use the recession, and now the prospect of recovery, as leverage to achieve major reductions in labor costs and to reform work rules.[21]

Labor unions have responded to these challenges by negotiating contract provisions that protect beleaguered members--even when concessions are necessary. Examples of these provisions include rate retention provisions for hourly or daily wages and salaries; transfer rights; advanced notice of plant closings and/or the introduction of new technology; severance pay; early retirement benefits; work force reduction by attrition only and retraining rights.

IV. IMPACT ON THE BLACK-UNION CONTRACT

These developments have profound implications for black workers and for black leaders in the labor movement. Union membership has become one of the surest routes to economic improvement for black blue collar workers, despite formidable resistance from some old-line craft unions.[22] Increasing numbers of black government workers in the last 20 years make public sector employment retrenchment a major contributor of black unemployment. The emergence of local black union leadership, like the emergence of local black elected officialdom, has created new

challenges for central union hierarchies with fewer black officials.

Moreover, black workers have been among the most vocal supporters of occupational health and safety regulation, stronger environmental safeguards for the population as a whole, particularly toxic wastes; minimum wage law; job training and development, particularly for young black men and women; affirmative action, including revision of seniority practices in numerous industries and continued organizing of workers, particularly in "right-to-work" states. They have supported the emergence of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) under the leadership of Ceasar Chavez and have generally supported comparable worth and pay equity for women.

Consequently, the key variables in the black-labor movement relationship are the vital signs of both labor movement viability and black employment, economic and political viability. As Figure I. suggests, the correct configuration and sequence of these variables determines the nature and extent of black influence on both majority and black unions, particularly on union policies and negotiating postures. Non-unionized black workers either forego the economic and political advantages of unionism or must pursue influence through other organized means such as professional associations or civic and community groups. The variables include:

(1) The presence and distribution of black workers in the U.S. labor force;

(2) The proportion of black union members in bargaining units in specific crafts, occupations and industries;

(3) The presence and distribution of black local, district and national officeholders in both AFL-CIO-affiliated unions and independent unions;

(4) The relative proportion of black membership in industrial and public sector unions.[23/]

(5) The number and programs of predominantly black unions and black labor institutes, caucuses, centers and associations;

(6) Black influence on (a) the collective bargaining strategies labor unions pursue; (b) the negotiated agreements those strategies produced; (c) administration of these negotiated agreements; (d) affirmative action, seniority, pay equity, occupational health and safety and other labor-related public policy issues pursued by the labor movement;

(7) Union-organized job actions such as strikes, work slowdowns and sick outs; and

(8) International labor organizing activity such as support for black South African labor leaders, labor-management training and education in Third World Nations and the extension of participatory avenues to labor leaders in other nations.

The availability of data on these variables is indeed scarce. However, as Table II indicates, although the number of black and other minority workers in the U.S. labor force is increasing, the participation rates have declined from a high of 64.5% in 1960 to 61% in 1982.[24/] Subtracting other minorities, the black participation rate would actually decline to 59.3%.

If we examine the types of occupations blacks assume (Table III.), blacks are more heavily represented in technical sales, administrative support, service and laborer categories than in managerial and professional categories.[25/] However, since most public and private sector unionization occurs in sub-managerial positions, blacks are more likely to join or be recruited by a union than whites. Indeed, the percentage of black workers who were union members, 29%, is higher than that for whites, 22%.[26/] In 1980, the category "black and others" accounted for 12.4% of the total civilian labor force. On this classification, 81.3% were black.[27/] In industrial and service worker unions with large minority memberships, blacks head many union locals, including some in predominantly white workplaces.

However, the demographic composition of the black labor force participation in labor unions is conspicuously absent from data sources. Little is known about the relative rates of participation of young (16-25), elderly (over 65), female, college educated and non-college educated black union members.[28/] Disaggregation and study of these intrademographic characteristics of black union members would suggest what black union subpopulations are least and most prone to advocacy; what kinds of issues are paramount for each group; what other organizational networks black subpopulations have most and least access to and thereby what prospects for coalition-building exist not only between blacks in the labor movement and other organizations but between black youth, black females, black elderly and other black subpopulations and a variety of organizations inside and beyond the black community.[29/]

An Urban League survey found that by the late 1970s, blacks held 27% of the key local union posts in Chicago, up from 14% a decade earlier. Labor's rank-and-file in Chicago in now over 50%.[30/]

However, information on blacks in leadership positions in the labor movement is sorely lacking. There is nothing comparable to the National Roster of Black Elected Officials published by the Joint Center for Political Studies each year.

What can be said is that, like the distribution of black elected officials in the United States, the distribution of black union officials seems far stronger at the local levels than in the national headquarters of independent unions or the AFL-CIO headquarters. Blacks head the Community Services, Civil Rights and Women's Departments of the AFL-CIO. Two blacks currently serve on the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO: Frederick O'Neal, President of the Associated Actors and Artists of America, and Barbara Hutchinson, Director of Women's Activities for the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE). Hutchinson's election was controversial because she was not the first choice of the established black AFL-CIO leadership. However, she is the youngest member of the

Executive Board in the history of the AFL-CIO.

Other high-ranking black union officials include:

(1) William Lucy, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees;

(2) Robert White, President of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees;

(3) Roosevelt Watt, Secretary-Treasurer of the Transport Workers Union;

(4) Marc Stepp, Vice-President of the United Auto Workers Union;

(5) Mary Futrell, President, National Education Association;

(6) Leon Lynch, Vice-President of the United Steel Workers Union;

(7) Jacqueline Vaughn, President, Chicago Teachers Union;

(8) William Pollard, Director, Office of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO;

(9) Robert McGlotten, Associate Director of Legislative Affairs, AFL-CIO;

(10) Walter Davis, Director of Community Affairs, AFL-CIO;

(11) Cecil Toppin, Vice-President, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union;

(12) Calvin Moore, Vice-President, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; and

(13) William Simons, President, Washington, D.C. Teachers Union.

However, as Table IV suggests, black union membership will continue to grow and more black leaders will be elected to significant positions in the union hierarchy. As Schwartz and Hoyman point out, "it is probable that gains in the union movement by blacks at the staff level will continue and the number of second-tier leadership positions will continue to grow."[31/] Should blacks assume a significant number of these positions, they could exert considerable influence on national union structures to elect black national union leaders. Recent presidential openings in two unions, the United Auto Workers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees provided the labor movements with an opportunity to elect a black president. But neither Marc Stepp of the UAW nor William Lucy of the AFSCME was selected.

However, although the labor movement is facing multiple crises it is important to emphasize the following points:

(1) Because black federal, state and local employment has always been more substantial than black private sector employment and because public

sector unions have grown more rapidly than their private sector counterparts, black advancement in union leadership is as likely to come from the public sector than from the private sector. Teachers unions are a good example. Given the longer tradition of black participation in elementary and secondary school teaching, their more extended rates of participation in teachers' unions and the greater proportions of black faculty, staff and students found in large core city school districts, black leadership in teachers' unions is likely to expand rapidly. It is also likely that, given the increasing number of black mayors and city administrators, more black leadership in state and local public sector unions is likely.[32/]

(2) Current and future employment growth trends in non-unionized and less unionized occupations are targeted both by black employment seekers and by existing unions. According to Alan Kistler,

> White-collar occupations hold the greatest organizing potential in terms of numbers, with 58% of the 65 million unorganized workers in 1980. There are nearly 17 million unorganized blue-collar workers, comprising over one-fourth of the total. Unorganized service workers total 10 million, about 15% of those not represented by unions.[33/]

Since Bureau of Labor Statistics forecasters also project higher labor force participation rates for both women and blacks in the next ten years, black trade union institutions like the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Civil Rights Office of the AFL-CIO, the African American Labor Center and the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees are accelerating their efforts to both encourage blacks to seek employment opportunities in these growth occupations and sectors and to facilitate unionization of the new jobs and emerging industries.[34/]

(3) It is clear that continued support of the labor movement for affirmative action, pay equity and other progressive labor policies is indispensable to black workers. Although there have been continuous and sometimes acrimonious conflicts between black trade unions and mainstream labor movement leadership over both the substance and methods of attaining these policies, unions continue to support most civil rights policies.

(4) It is increasingly clear that the position of black workers is inextricably intertwined with the international flow of human resources. Thus, black labor organizations have aggressively involved themselves in such foreign policy issues as the release of 13 jailed black South African labor leaders; opposition to South African apartheid policies; support for refugees and victims of famine in Africa and Asia; support for progressive conventions of the International Labor Organization of the United Nations; and support of Transafrica, Africare and other Afro-American organizations active in foreign policy. Black labor leaders have led their mainstream counterparts in foreign policy activities.

(5) A related development has been black trade union support of training and education of both black workers in general and black trade unionists. For example, in 1978, the National Alliance of Postal and

Federal Employees granted Howard University's School of Business and Public Administration more than one million dollars to establish an Institute of Labor-Management Relations specialty in the M.B.A. program; intensive management training for Alliance members in major cities throughout the United States; a research program which has resulted in published works on black labor in the United States, the Caribbean and Africa; and a training program for African nations which has conducted training both in the United States and Africa.

(6) Black participation in the labor movement is also closely tied to black political participation. The public support of the labor movement by Presidential Candidate Jesse Jackson and the efforts of black union leaders to affect the outcome of mayoral elections in Philadelphia and Chicago demonstrate the interconnection between black labor and black political aspirations. However, much remains to be done to reinforce black political coalitions with the mainstream union movement on several political issues, including support for occupational health and safety, seniority and proposed budget deficit reduction policies of the Reagan Administration.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Black workers continue to strive for power over the terms and conditions of their employment both within labor unions and with labor unions. For more than one-half century, they struggled for acceptance in the emerging industrial labor movement. Barred and discouraged by local, national and federated unions, blacks developed their own labor unions and labor federations. Ideologically and organizationally varied, these fledgling labor organizations struggled for financial solvency and internal political solidarity.

For the black worker, collective bargaining has always been two-dimensional: the black worker bargains both with labor and management as labor bargains primarily with management. Black advocacy organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League have bolstered black participation in the labor movement, particularly in the critical period of the 1950s when many black labor leaders were accused of socialist and communist tendencies.

In addition, as the civil rights movement succeeded in eroding discrimination against blacks in both employment and employee organizations, the viability of "black unions" became a problem. They gradually lost constituency to the integrating majority unions and to technological advances that made thousands of menial jobs obsolete. However, the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees survived by shrewd financial and political management.

Moreover, the development of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the work of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO, provide black workers with organizational resources both inside and outside of the labor movement. Ceaseless in their efforts and skilled in their advocacy and negotiation, these organizations continue to seek advancement for blacks in the labor movement while the labor movement seeks to survive.

It is clear that the fate of the labor movement and the fate of black workers cannot be separated. Like a microcosm of the United States itself, blacks, though disgruntled with perpetual and adaptable racism will forego critical protection of their collective bargaining, financial, international and political rights if they abandon the labor movement or if unions are eventually rendered ineffectual.

The primary task of black labor movement leadership is not only to continue their persistent efforts to seek justice for black workers from both labor and management but also to carefully document the nature and efficacy of their efforts. Huge gaps in our knowledge of the composition of the unionized black labor force, the distribution of black leadership in both majority and minority unions and the financial and economic impact of black participation in the labor movement continue.

Through historically black and majority institutions of higher learning, major black advocacy organizations and through black union leaders, more continuous and systematic documentation of the status of black workers in the labor movement is a priority agenda item.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

These labor trends and their relation to the labor movement pose serious challenges to black workers. Both black workers in and preparing to enter the labor force attempt to obtain and retain occupational status, earnings and benefits, thereby attaining industrial influence. Similarly, labor unions, determined to rebuild membership, increase revenues and restore political efficacy by retaining constituency in existing bargaining units and penetrating emerging occupations and industries, will be recruiting more black workers. Neither blacks nor unions will fully succeed without each other. Clearly, the terms of the black-labor movement contract require review and renegotiation. Thus, these recommendations are addressed to both blacks and the labor movement:

(1) Black participation in the labor movement needs better analysis and documentation. Variables requiring more comprehensive and consistent study are:

(a) Black labor force studies, including the distribution of black workers by occupation, profession, business type and size and age, sex and educational background;

(b) Factors influencing entry and exit of black workers from occupations and industries;

(c) Comparative analysis of not only black and white labor force trends but also those of Hispanics, Native Americans and Asians;

(d) More detailed study of black youth, elderly, and female employment patterns and union participation dynamics;

(e) Black union leadership. A roster of black local,

district and national officials is needed not only for analyzing the ebbs and flows of black union influence but also to enhance black union networking, both in majority and predominantly black unions.

(2) Both black workers and the labor movement should generate strategic plans. Included in the planning process should be economic and labor forecasts; technology forecasts; the tracking of emerging and declining industries and occupations; international economic and political developments affecting labor flows; and public policy information on such issues as tax reform, budget deficit reduction, job training, affirmative action, women's issues and other issues.

(3) Both blacks and the labor movement should conclude a written agreement on their political approach to such issues as affirmative action, seniority, comparable worth and pay equity, job training and retraining, particularly for youth and the aged; occupational and environmental health and safety and affirmative action within the union leadership and management structure.

(4) Both blacks and the labor movement need to coalesce on international labor development strategies. Although blacks and labor collaborated in recent demonstrations at the South African embassy, more international advocacy and labor training is necessary building upon the work of the African-American Labor Center and the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. See, Hosea Hudson, Black Worker in the Deep South (New York: International Publishers, 1972).

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4. Foner, Ibid., p. 4.

5. Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550-1812 (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969) and Herbert Hill, "The Racial Practices of Organized Labor--The Age of Gompers and After," in Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., Employment, Race and Poverty (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967), pp. 365-403.

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7. Foner, op. cit., p. 23.

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18. "Why Unions are Running Scared," U.S. News and World Report, v. 97, n. 11, September 10, 1984, p. 63.

19. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, News, USDL 83-197, April 27, 1983. Barbash, op. cit., p. 13.

20 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Labor, LSMA, Labor-Management Relations in State and Local Governments: 1974; 1980 Special Studies No. 75 and 192.

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22. Steve Askin, "Turmoil in the Ranks," Black Enterprise v. 13, n. 2, September 1982, p. 59.

23 Industrial unions usually represent crafts such as carpentry, electricians, steelworkers, plumbers and longshoremen. Public sector unions specialize in representing federal, state and local government employees. However, industrial unions can and do contract with federal, state and local governments.

24. The estimated participation rate for blacks and other minorities for 1984, calculated from the data in Table II., is 60%

25. The complete, disaggregated list of occupations in this table can be found in, Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1984, p. 416.

26. Gifford, Directory of U.S. Labor Organizations, 1982-83, p. 51.

27. Arthur R. Schwartz and Michelle M. Hoyman, "The Changing of the Guard: The New American Labor Leader," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, v. 473, May 1984, p. 73.

28. On black youth see, Robert B. Hill and Regina Nixon, Youth Employment in American Industry (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London, England: Transaction Publisher, 1984); on the elderly see, Jacquelyne Johnson Jackson, "Aging in Black America," in this volume and Philip L. Rones, "The Labor Market Problems of Older Workers," Monthly Labor Review v. 106, n. 5, May 1983, pp. 3-12. On the question of whether younger, older, male or female workers are more and least likely to join unions see, Michael E. Gordon and Larry N. Long, "Demographic and Attitudinal Correlates of Union Joining," Industrial Relations, v. 20, n. 3, Fall 1981, pp. 306-311.

29 See Lennox Yearwood, Ed., Black Organizations: Issues of Survival (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980).

30. Askin, op. cit., p. 60.

31. Ibid., p. 61.

32. See, Joint Center for Political Studies, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1983 (Washington, D.C.)

33. Alan Kistler, "Union Organizing: New Challenges for Prospects," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 473, May 1984, p. 97.

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Figure I.

The Process of Black Participation in the Labor Movement

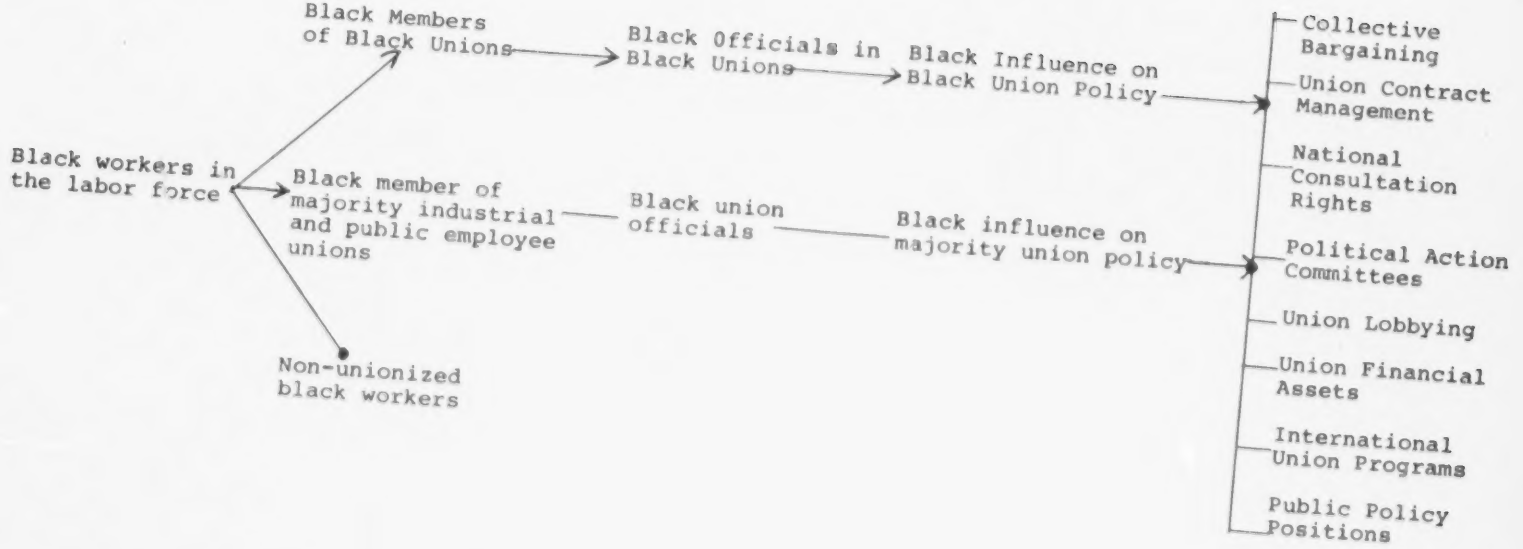
Black workers in the labor force
Black Members of Black Unions
Black Officials in Black Unions
Black Influence on Black Union Policy
Black member of majority industrial and public employee unions
Black union officials
Black influence on majority union policy
Non-unionized black workers
Collective Bargaining
Union Contract Management
National Consultation Rights
Political Action Committees
Union Lobbying
Union Financial Assets
International Union Programs
Public Policy Positions

Table I.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BARGAINING UNITS AGREEMENTS AND STRIKES, OCT.1974 and OCT. 1980

	State		Local		Total	
	1974	1980	1974	1980	1974	1980
Bargaining Units	1,107	978	19,753	33,300	20,860	34,278
Agreements	549	418	16,964	15,282	17,513	15,700
Strikes	32	22	439	480	471	502
Days of Idleness	68,821	89,739	1,341,947	2,316,989	1,404,768	2,406,708

Source: U.S. Dept of Commerce, Bur. of Census; U.S. Dept. of Labor, LMSA, Labor-Management Relations in State and Local Governments: 1974; 1980 Special Studies Nos. 75 and 192.

Table II.

CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE AND PARTICIPATION RATES BY RACE: 1960 to 1982

	Civilian Labor Force (in Millions)							Participation Rate (percent)						
	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982
Total*	69.6	74.5	82.8	93.8	106.9	108.7	110.2	59.4	58.9	60.4	61.2	63.8	63.9	64.0
Black and other**	7.7	8.3	9.2	9.3	10.9	11.1	11.3	64.5	62.9	61.8	58.8	61.0	60.8	61.0

* Beginning 1975 , includes other races not shown separately. **Beginning 1975, Black only.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, monthly.

Table III.

LABOR FORCE, EMPLOYMENT AND EARNINGS

Occupation of the Civilian Labor Force by Race: 1980 (in thousands)

Occupation	Total	White	Black
Total Civilian Labor Force	104,450	89,192	10,582
Managerial and Professional specialty	22,654	20,485	1,378
Technical, sales and administrative support	30,884	27,181	2,554
Service Occupations	13,606	10,477	2,395
Farming, Forestry and Fishing	3,032	2,595	213
Precision production, craft & repair	13,555	12,067	932
Operators, fabricators & laborers	19,988	15,962	2,889
Unemployed		455	222

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, Supplementary Reports

THE POTENTIAL AND PROBLEMS OF BLACK FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

By William D. Bradford

I. INTRODUCTION

The black financial institutions sector is an important and highly visible element of the black business sector and economy. Financial institutions are important simply as business firms which employ people and earn income for their owners. But the importance of black financial institutions is magnified by the fact that they form depositories for savings, and that their investment decisions can specify the amount and mix of capital formation in specific communities. If the black population is to become substantively involved in determining its path and degree of economic development, the creation and viability of black financial institutions are important. This study will examine the outlook and general operating issues for black banks, black savings and loan associations (s&ls) and black life insurance companies. These are important institutions, which are in many respects bellweathers for the general black business community.

Section II provides an overview of the economic characteristics of black financial institutions, based upon the numerous studies which have investigated these firms. Section III discusses black banks and s&ls. They are in a period of transition, and the next few years will tell much of the story about their ultimate survival. Section IV discusses black insurance companies, firms whose clientele and products threaten their ultimate survival.

II. A PERSPECTIVE ON BLACK FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Economic theory describes the major role of financial institutions as gathering many relatively small deposits of households and other economic units, and combining them to support capital formation through lending for business and housing capital investment. The service which black financial institutions can provide may be magnified by the much discussed inability of a number of black communities to obtain financing from majority financial institutions for business capital investment and housing capital investment. The concept of pooling the savings of black community residents and using the savings to finance the development of the community may be sound in theory, but what does the empirical evidence indicate about its practical implementation?

Black banks were analyzed quite frequently in the 1970's. The studies by Brimmer [18] [19] and Irons [25] on black owned banks reached contradictory conclusions. Brimmer interpreted his data as indicating that black banks as a group are financially weak and slow or no growth firms. Based upon his findings, he concluded that black banks could not contribute significantly to black economic development. Irons (who used the same basic data as Brimmer) looked at black banks as similiar to new

banks. Thus, the weak financial conditions of the black banks were comparable to typical new banks, and would be eliminated over time as the banks grew. He reached more positive conclusions than Brimmer on both the current financial condition of black banks and their potential for impacting black economic development. In retrospect (the period observed in these studies went only through 1969), black banks have performed somewhere between the pessimistic predictions of Brimmer and the optimistic predictions of Irons but perhaps closer to that of Brimmer.

The studies of Brimmer and Irons formed the analytical basis for most of the subsequent research on black banks. In their important studies of the comparative performance of minority-owned banks and the start-up experience of minority banks, Boorman [6] [7] and Boorman and Kwast [5] remedied many of the methodological shortcomings of Brimmer and Irons. Subsequent studies by Bates [1], Bates and Bradford [2] [3], Black [8], Doctors ETAL [21], Duker and Morton [22], Summers and Tucker [30], Kwast [27] and Kwast and Black [2] have provided additional analyses in selected areas on the financial attributes of black banks in the 1970s.

With regard to black s&ls, a series of studies by Bradford and his co-authors as summarized in the following: [4] [11] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16] [17] [29], remains the dominant work in this area. His studies analyzed black s&ls through the mid 1970s, except for a study ([13]) on black and other minority s&ls in California through 1979. King [26] updated one of Bradford's earlier studies through 1978, and came to conclusions similar to Bradford's.

Unlike black banks and s&ls, black insurance companies have not been examined by economic scholars. There are two possible reasons for this. First, it is generally felt that insurance companies are a slower growth sector of the financial services industry than banks or s&ls (the reasons for which will be discussed below) and their investment patterns have less impact on the economy. Second, (and perhaps of more relevance) data on banks and s&ls are much easier to obtain than for insurance companies.

Nevertheless, the numerous studies on black banks and s&ls do allow us to develop a perspective in examining the current state of this sector. These studies have generally concluded that black financial institutions, relative to comparable firms (i.e., same size class, age, general location--County or SMSA, same type--federal or state): 1) have lower average deposit account sizes, 2) have lower average loan sizes, 3) experience a higher proportion of loan default, or bad debts, 4) have higher operating expenses, 5) have lower capital accounts with which to cushion loan losses and support growth, and 6) have lower overall financial viability. These findings have been attributed to lower per capita income and less stable employment characteristics of the communities which the black financial institutions serve.

Although it has also been found that black banks and s&ls pay lower average interest rates on deposits and obtain higher loan yields, these positive attributes have not been able to offset the negative attributes just mentioned in affecting their financial viability. However, differences in financial viability have been found between mature black fi-

nancial institutions created before the 1950s and those created after the 1950s, the latter being generally more viable. Given this background, the next section will update the general performance of the black financial institutions.

III. BLACK BANKS AND SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS: CURRENT ISSUES

A. Background

Black commercial banks and savings and loan associations are currently involved in a significant transition. Deregulation, the entry of nonbanks into traditional banking services, and the recent high interest rate-recession combination have challenged the financial viability of these firms. It is helpful to summarize the recent regulatory changes in the operating environment of the black banks and s&ls. The regulatory environment of banks and s&ls has been profoundly changed by two laws: the Depository Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act of 1980 (DIDMCA), and the Garn-St. Germain Depository Institutions Act of 1982 (1982 Act). These acts have been well-chronicled, being preceded by the Hunt Commission and the Fine Study, which suggested major structural changes in the banking and savings and loan industries.

The DIDMCA was passed in a period in which banks and s&ls were experiencing high interest rates and greater competition for savers' dollars from money market mutual funds and other nonbank financial institutions. It aimed to strengthen depository institutions' positions by permitting somewhat greater flexibility on both the asset and liability side of their balance sheets. The DIDMCA provides for all s&ls and banks to offer NOW accounts; for s&ls to offer credit card activities; consumer loans, commercial paper, and corporate debt securities. The act also allows s&ls to offer trust services, make first or second mortgage loans without regard to size or geographic restrictions; to operate remote service units, and to offer adjustable rate mortgages. The act imposes uniform reserve requirements on transactions accounts for all depository institutions, including banks and s&ls. A critically important feature of the DIDMCA provides for the phase-out of limitations on the maximum rates of interest that may be paid on deposits at banks and s&ls.

It was clear then that the DIDMCA, although a significant change in the environment of both banks and s&ls, was an operating panacea for neither. It was felt that it would take several years for the new asset powers to significantly impact the s&ls, who subsequently recorded record losses in 1981 and 1982.

Legislation often derives from Congress' perception of a crisis. Such is a description of the process leading to the Garn-St. Germain Act of 1982. It is primarily a rescue operation for s&ls and savings banks, but it also enlarges the options for commercial banks. The 1982 Act authorized the money market deposit account and the Super NOW account for banks and s&ls; allows s&ls to accept business deposits and NOW accounts from federal, state and local governments; removed (effective the start of 1984) any existing interest rate differential between the interest rate which banks and s&ls can pay for deposits; authorized s&ls to make

overdraft loans; and expanded the ability of s&ls to make commercial loans and consumer loans, and invest in state and local government obligations.

B. Institutional Characteristics

Depository institutions provide intermediation services, by borrowing from one economic unit at a price, and lending at a higher price the borrowed funds to another economic unit. The "spread", which is the difference between the average yield on lending and the average cost of borrowing, must be sufficient to cover operating costs (personnel, advertising, rent, etc.) and net a profit to the firm. There are three risks inherent in this business. The first is the traditional and recognized risk of default. Coping with this risk has remained the responsibility of management, although the current problems facing commercial banks of potential and actual default are testing this responsibilty.

The second risk arises from the possibility that depositors may unexpectedly withdraw their deposits and the institution may not have enough liquid assets to meet the demand; this is liquidity risk. Central banks in general--and also the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (for s&ls) have long acted as lenders of last resort to limit exposure to this risk. The third risk relates to interest rates rising unexpectedly. In a world where financial institutions pay market interest for their deposits, rapidly rising interest rates raise the cost of funds faster than the yield on assets because assets have a longer maturity than deposits.

The first risk has been more dominant in recent bank insolvencies (Continental, Penn Square), whereas the third risk has been more dominant in s&l difficulities (Financial Corporation of America, Financial Federation), but both banks and s&ls experience all of these risks. The future of banks and s&ls can thus be related to their ability to manage these risks while earning a profit.

C. Black Banks

The situation of the black banks will be discussed first. Table 1 provides background and current data on black banks. At yearend 1983, the total assets of the 47 existing black banks totalled $1.55 billion. In the ten-year period ending December 31, 1983, the assets of black banks grew by 136%, and the number increased by 10, or 27%. In the same period, assets of all commercial banks increased by 162%, and the number by 8.6%. In 1983, the largest black bank surpassed $100 million in assets, the total assets of all black banks surpassed $1.5 billion for the first time, and two new black banks opened. The black banks' increases in 1983: 6.8% in number, 16.5% in assets and 21.6% in deposits, were larger than those of the commercial banking industry as a whole. Black banks have weathered the new environment thus far, and many have taken advantage of the more liberal attitude of regulators (especially the regulator of national banks) toward the activities of banks.

However, the picture is not a rosy one for black banks. These banks remain a small and fragile part of the industry. At yearend 1983, black banks were .31% of the number and held only .07% of the total assets of all commercial banks. The average black bank held only $32.1 million in assets at yearend 1983. Even the largest black bank, Seaway National Bank of Chicago, with assets of $107 million, is a small bank by industry standards.

TABLE 1

Overview of Black Commercial Banks

	1973	1980	1981	1982	1983
Black Banks					
Number	37	48	46	44	47
Assets $000,000	656	1,262	1,334	1,331	1,550
All Banks					
Number	14,161	15,108	15,213	15,329	15,380
Assets $000,000	806,429	1,702,783	1,804,900	1,972,100	2,113,100
Black Banks					
% Number	0.261	0.318	0.302	0.287	0.306
% Total Assests	.081	.074	.074	.067	.073

Sources: Black Enterprise Magazine, Federal Reserve Bulletin, various issues.

Another significant point is that the average black bank has a lower net worth per dollar of assets to cushion losses than comparable white banks. Table 2 provides some data on survival rates of black banks over the ten-year period ending yearend 1983. Twenty seven percent, or approximately 1 out of 4 of the black banks in existence in 1973 had disappeared (been acquired or ceased operations) by yearend 1983. Although data on the entire commercial banking industry are not available, this disappearance rate is thought to be much higher than that of the industry as a whole. Also, Table 2 shows that the five-year survival rate of the 1978 group of black banks, 80%, appears to be forecasting an even higher ten-year disappearance rate than the 1973 group. The same conclusion is held in comparing the two-year disappearance rate for the 1981 group of black banks. It is felt that the cause of the higher proportinate rate for the 1978 and 1981 groups is the economic and

financial turmoil experienced in 1981-83.

Since the passage of the two acts mentioned above, black banks have competed for funds not only with s&ls, but also with nonbanking institutions, who have decided that the activities of depository institutions are profitable. Recently, companies such as Prudential-Bache have bought banks and sold off their commercial lending activities, thereby setting up interstate depository institutions that fall outside the legal definition--and thus regulatory restrictions--of a bank.

TABLE 2

SURVIVAL ANALYSIS

Black-Owned Commercial Banks

Number Existing In		Which Still Exist in 1978		1980		1983	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1973	37	34	92	30	81	27	73
1978	49			44	90	39	80
1981	46					40	87
1982	44					43	98

Sources: Black Enterprise Magazine, Federal Reserve Bulletin, various issues.

The combination of the foregoing results in black banks still being susceptible to a shakeout, but the vast majority of the 47 black banks that existed in 1984 will still be around by the end of the decade, and the number of these banks will be in the low to mid 50 range. The traditional black banks, those which serve exclusively the low and moderate income blacks in the inner city, will survive, but not without casualties. Other black banks will find it necessary to specialize in one or two types of loans, thereby taking advantage of economies of scale, and reducing the number of hats which management must wear in order for the bank to be profitable. The larger black banks will be close to full service banks by the end of the decade, taking advantage of the new technologies available.

But black banks can find combinations of strategies which are appropriate in certain instances. For example, a traditional black bank can offer additional services as have First Bank National Association in Cleveland and First Independence National in Detroit by renting space in their branches to sellers of such financial products as insurance, stocks, and tax shelters.

The future of black s&ls is similar to that of blacks bank. Table 3 provides an overview of the growth in number and total assets of black s&ls in the ten year period ending yearend 1983. At yearend 1983, the 36 existing black s&ls held $1.16 billion in total assets. From yearend 1973 to yearend 1983, the number of black s&ls decreased from 43 to 36, or 16.3%, and total assets

TABLE 3

Overview of Black Savings and Loan Associations

Black S & Ls	1973	1980	1981	1982	1983
Number	43	42	40	37	36
Assets $000,000	454	949	989	1,017	1,163
All S & Ls					
Number	4,177	4,042	4,011	3,851	3,391
Assets $000,000	272,358	629,829	664,167	707,646	771,705
Black S & Ls					
%Number	1.02	1.04	0.99	0.96	1.06
%Total Assets	.167	.151	.149	.144	.151

Sources: Black Enterprise Magazine, Federal Reserve Bulletin, various issues.

held by black s&ls increased by 156%. In the same period, the number of s&ls nationwide declined by 18.8%, and the total assets of s&ls increased by 183%.

The black s&ls, at yearend 1983, were 1.1% of the number and held .15% of the assets of all s&ls. These are better than the porportions for the black banks, but are still reflective of the small and fragile participation rates of blacks in the financial sector. Table 4 provides survival rates for the black s&ls. These organizations have survival rates which are better than those of black banks. Unlike the black banks, the black s&ls are likely surviving at a rate which is at or above the national average for s&ls. The s&ls industry, as shown in Table 4 has substantially declined in number over the last 10 years. Most of the decline occurred in 1982 and 1983, because of the high and volatile interest rates in those years. Black s&ls have not declined in number as fast as the industry, as shown in Table 3. Also, the 1983 growth of assets of the black s&ls, 14.3%, is faster than the average for all s&ls, 9.1%.

Much of the discussion above concerning the potentials and problems of black commercial banks can be said about black s&ls. In essence, there is no one strategy which will serve as a panacea for success for these firms. The competitive environment of s&ls has become more complicated and crowded, and more solutions to this new environment are

TABLE 4

SURVIVAL ANALYSIS

Black-Owned Savings and Loan Associations

Number Existing In		Which Still Exist In 1978		1980		1983	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1973	43	37	86	36	84	33	77
1978	40			39	98	34	85
1981	40					35	88
1982	37					35	95

Sources: Black Enterprise Magazine, Federal Reserve Bulletin, various issues.

available: interest rate futures to hedge interest rates, expanded asset powers, more liberalized branching powers, and the ability to pay higher rates to obtain more deposits. But with the greater problems and possible solutions, the greater demand for managerial talent exists. But on balance, black s&ls which have survived 1981-83 intact should be able to meet the significant challenges which will undoubtedly be faced over the next decade.

IV. BLACK INSURANCE COMPANIES

The life insurance industry is also in transition. Throughout the 20th century, the share of disposable personal income which this industry has obtained has declined. Whereas it was in the 4.0% range in 1940, it has declined to the 3.0% range by 1983. The traditional formula of success for life companies: selling whole life--which combines insurance with a low interest savings plan--through the career agent, has slowly eroded. The cost inefficiency of this strategy and intensifying competition from other forms of savings have eroded the life industry's position in the financial markets. Another way to look at this is to note that since 1970, the assets of life insurance companies have increased at an average annual rate slower than those of both commercial banks and saving and loan associations.

Of course, the life insurance industry has attempted to respond to higher interest rates paid by other forms of savings. In the 1970s, with whole life in disrepute for low interest rates paid on the savings portion of the insurance contract, new kinds of policies offering higher and variable returns were created and promoted by some insurance companies. This trend is still existing today. Universal life lets policyholders vary the amount of insurance protection and the size and timing of premium payments. The premium is unbundled, enabling buyers to see how much goes for the death benefit and how much to cash value. Moreover, the premiums are placed in separate accounts and invested in securities yielding far more than the old bonds in the company's general account. Variable life also features an unbundled premium and separate account investing, in its case, in a wider range of assets. However, unlike universal, the premium payments for variable life are fixed.

Although these products appear to be initially successful, there is still uncertainty with respect to whether these plans can offer any greater flexibility than competing forms of savings. The major insurance companies have also broadened the fields in which they operate. This strategy was reflected in the purchase of the Bache Group, the securities firm, by Prudential for $385 million in 1981. Other companies are adding mutual funds, limited partnerships, money management firms, and regional brokerage houses.

At the same time, the centuries old system of selling policies through local agencies is under assault as more commercial banks, brokerage houses and mass marketers are selling insurance. Citicorp and other big bank holding companies hope to underwrite life insurance when the law permits--and in New York, Governor Cuomo has supported legislation allowing unrestricted bank entry into insurance. Although the banks'

attempt to enter insurance underwriting via state-chartered banks in South Dakota was blocked in January, 1984 by the Federal Reserve Board, the ban is being challenged in court.

Other problems of the life insurance industry are as follows. During periods of high and increasing interest rates, more policyholders cash in old policies to buy the new ones which reflect higher interest rates. This not only strains cash reserves, but also undermines profitability for years: insurance companies must deduct the costs of selling a policy in the year sold, instead of amortizing it over the life of the policy. It takes eight to ten years before a company begins to make money on the average policy.

Voluntary terminations of existing insurance policies are rising. In 1982 one of ten policyholders cancelled--a lapse rate of 10%, compared to 6.6% in 1978.

Competitive companies must invest to upgrade their computer systems and retrain their sales forces to cope with the new line of policies. Insurance agents will find it necessary to have a personal computer and a securities license. To sell variable or universal life, an agent must be licensed by the National Association of Securities Dealers and operate under the supervision of a registered broker-dealer.

Group life insurance, once very profitable, has become marginally profitable, as more insurance companies compete for this business, and potential business clients develop self-insurance programs. Property and casualty insurers are either marginally profitable or unprofitable in that line of business.

Given this background on the industry, black insurance companies are reflective of the industry itself, but with an added characteristic of having more low and moderate income blacks as clients compared to the industry. Many black insurance companies tend to sell more industrial insurance than any other type of insurance. Industrial insurance is similar to whole life, but the premium is collected door-to-door by the insurance company on a weekly basis. Black insurance companies, in recent years, have been plagued by several occurrences: continued unemployment in their traditional lower and moderate income markets; the push by mainstream insurance companies to get the business of the black middle and upper income customer; the heavy reliance on whole life insurance policies; and the outmoded operating techniques of some of the companies.

Table 5 provides an overview of the growth of black life insurance companies over the 1973 - 83 period. At yearend 1983, black life insurance companies were 1.9% of the number, and held .12% of the assets of all life insurance companies. Both percentages have declined since 1973. The total assets of the 38 black insurance companies was $766 million in 1983, which was a 3.4% increase over 1982. The industry's asset growth was 11.9% in the same period. The premium income of black insurance declined 8% in 1983, whereas the industry experienced an increase of 13.2%. These results are due to the fact that the typical black insurance company serves its traditional market of low-income families while mainstream insurance companies are augmenting their product lines and

TABLE 5

Overview of Black Life Insurance Companies

Black Ins.Cos.	1973	1980	1981	1982	1983
Number	41	38	38	38	38
Assets $000,000	516	699	726	740	766
All Ins. Cos.					
Number	1,766	1,958	1,991	2,048	2,011
Assets $000,000	252,071	479,210	525,803	588,163	663,013
Black Ins.Cos.					
%-Number	2.32	1.94	1.91	1.86	1.89
% Total Assets	.205	.146	.138	.133	.116

Sources: Black Enterprise Magazine, Federal Reserve Bulletin, various issues.

attempting to reach middle class consumers.

By targeting low to moderate income blacks, black insurance agents have neglected potentially more profitable clients among more financially sound black families. Most black insurance companies do not offer variable or universal life policies, which made up 20% of premium income for the life insurance industry in 1983, and is expected to be over 40% of premium income in 1984. In comparison, over 50% of premium income for black companies comes from industrial insurance, which is costly to administer, given how it is collected. The proportion of the premium income dollar of black insurance companies coming from industrial insurance has declined in the last decade, but it is being replaced by whole life insurance, which the industry is moving away from, because of the low yields offered on the savings portion of the policy. Black insurers have also been slow to market noninsurance financial instruments that many insurers are using to attract new business, as mentioned above.

The reason that black insurance companies specialize in low to mod-

erate income blacks and whole life insurance is because it is a "captive" market. Most major insurance companies have minimum life policies of $20,000, whose premiums do not enable low and moderate income blacks to purchase them. Black insurance companies feel that they can survive if they cater to this market. For example, Golden State Mutual, the third largest black insurance company (assets of $98 million at yearend 1983) is experiencing a 13-15% annual growth in industrial premiums, all from concentrating on urban families which earn less than $15,000 a year. The average policy value is less than $2,500 and the average claim that the firm pays is slightly more than $1,000. This captive market has enabled the black insurance companies to attain a survival rate which is higher than those of black banks and black s&ls, as shown in Table 6. This exhibit shows that the ten-year survival rate for the 1973 group of black life insurers is 83%, versus 77% for black s&ls, and 73% for black banks.

But the policy of concentrating on the lower income black market has not been a growth oriented one for black insurance companies as a group, although some have been successful. Black insurance companies must answer some difficult questions. One is whether it is desirable to continue servicing the low-end market. The growth and viability of these

TABLE 6

SURVIVAL ANALYSIS

Black-Owned Insurance Companies

Number Existing In		Which Still Exist In 1978		1980		1983	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1973	41	38	93	36	88	34	83
1978	39			37	95	35	90
1981	38					35	92
1982	38					36	95

Sources: Black Enterprise Magazine, Federal Reserve Bulletin, various issues.

firms have been negatively impacted by serving this market. But their clientele would have little or no insurance available if not provided by the black insurers. If it is decided that the viability of the firm requires serving a different market, the questions become what to market, to whom to market, and how to market it. The life insurance industry itself is in a long-term decline, and has significant competition. The number of life insurance companies, currently 1,900, is expected to decline by over 250 within the next 10 years.

The black insurance companies have been less profitable than the industry as a whole, but have survived. These companies may avoid the coming shakeout in the mainstream insurance industry by staying in its sheltered market. This is slow death, but perhaps a manageable one.

On the other hand, expanding into pension fund management, and insuring debt obligations of business firms and local governments appear to be of growing potential for the insurance industry. In addition, the formation of joint ownership groups such as holding companies with other black financial firms appears to hold promise, especially given that underwriting life insurance is of growing interest to bankers, and that affiliation of a life insurance company and a savings bank or savings and loan association is now permitted under federal and most state laws.

V. CONCLUSION

Since 1980, financial deregulation, volatile interest rates, and a stagnating black economy have resulted in black financial institutions' slower relative growth than non-minority financial institutions. Of course, the 1980-84 period was a significant challenge to all financial institutions, with record post-depression failures in both the savings and loan association and commercial banking industries. As a group, the black commercial banks and savings and loan associations have thus far survived, but not without casualties. In addition, the next five years will be crucial in specifying the long-term viability of these firms, as the changes in the competitive conditions in these important financial industries become more pervasive and permanent.

The black insurance companies have a more difficult road ahead than the black commercial banks and savings and loan associations. Many of them are offering services which lack mainstream competitiveness, and a clientele which do not have sufficient resources to enable them to grow. The captive market which they serve has enabled many black insurance companies to survive thus far, but the long-term viability of exclusively serving this market is highly suspect. On the other hand, it has been difficult for black insurance companies to successfully enter the mainstream insurance market, because of a lack of the capital and management talent required. How this problem is resolved will be a significant model of how black owned businesses adapt to change.

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AGED BLACK AMERICANS: DOUBLE JEOPARDY RE-EXAMINED[1]

BY

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I. INTRODUCTION

Specific attempts to identify aged blacks as a social problem in the United States, to seek federal redress for the adverse effects of racial segregation and discrimination on them, and to obtain racial equity and parity for them in federal programs for the aged are relatively new. The designation in the 1930s of the aged as a social problem generally ignored blacks, as evidenced by their typical exclusion from coverage under the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance section (OASI) of the Social Security Act of 1935, the first federal legislation for the aged. Black professionals were typically excluded from most federal research, training and support programs in aging and from federal conferences on aging before the 1970s.

Organized concern about the plight of aged blacks or about black participation in research, training, and support programs on aging or the aged has been most apparent since the early 1970s. This concern was stimulated by various factors, among which the most prominent are:

1. the appearances of "The Negro Aged" [Talley and Kaplan, 1956], where the concept of double jeopardy was first applied to aged blacks; Double Jeopardy--The Older Negro in America Today [National Urban League, 1964]; Social Gerontology and the Negro: A Review" [Jackson, 1967], and a proposal to modify the minimum age of eligibility for OASI benefits to compensate for racial differences in longevity [Jackson, 1968];

2. the growing awareness of the public policy implications of the demographic trends of aged blacks, such as their increasing numbers, relatively high poverty rates, and the increasing proportions of aged blacks who were living alone;

3. recent federal anti-discriminatory statutes and programs that have affected aged blacks (e.g., the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1965, and the Older Americans Act of 1965);

4. the formation of The National Caucus on the Black Aged in 1970 (largely through the efforts of Hobart C. Jackson, who chaired the National Urban League's subcommittee responsible for Double Jeopardy--The Older Negro in America Today, and Robert Kastenbaum, a pioneering psychologist of aging) and its impact on the 1971 White House Conference on Aging;

5. the availability since the 1970s of federal grants for aging research, training, and support programs to black institutions and agencies, principally through grants from the Administration on

Aging [specifically to Albany State University, Bishop College, Fisk University, Livingstone College, Tennessee State University, and Federal City College now a part of the University of the District of Columbia, which may have led to the recent formation of the Association for Gerontology and Human Development in Historically Black Colleges and Universities] and also in the 1970s to The National Urban League for its projects on Advocacy in Support of Minority Aged and Minority Aged Services Training Institute, and to The National Caucus on Black Aged to establish the National Center on Black Aged;

6. the presidential appointment in 1981 of Lennie-Marie Tolliver as the first black to head the Administration on Aging, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and who remained in that position through 1984;

7. the need to constrain severly the increasing cost of OASI and Medicare. The two major federal programs of income maintenance and support for the aged.

The rising politicalization of aged blacks and of organized attempts to politicalize them [Jackson, 1983] reflect their increased likelihood of voting in national elections. Most adults now believe that the federal government should be primarily responsible for the well-being of the aged [see, e.g., Harris and Associates, 1975, 1981; Sussman, 1983; Weaver, 1984]. The federal government has increasingly assumed this responsibility since the mid-1930s and, more nearly for aged blacks, since the early 1950s.

The three major purpose of this essay on the blacks aged -- defined as 65 years and beyond--are:

1. A critique of the current applicability of the concept of double jeopardy as used in the National Urban League's Double Jeopardy--The Older Negro in America Today.

2. The presentation of some demographic trends of aged blacks in the United States since 1970, and some recent demographic data about aged blacks and whites.

3. A limited analysis of the adequacy of major federal programs for aged blacks, some racial issues about those programs, and some recommendations whose effective implementation could increase our knowledge and understanding about the effects of federal policies and programs on aged blacks.

The preparation for this essay included a comprehensive search for demographic and programmatic data about aged blacks in the United States. The major sources from which the data were sought included the U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Office of Management and Budget, National Center for Health Statistics, U.S. Social Security Administration, Administration on Aging, and ACTION.

The needed data were often unavailable because they were not collected

(See, E. G., Arsht, 1984) or they were not yet ready for public use. Thus, it was impossible to measure precisely the effects on aged blacks. For example, the U.S. Bureau of the Census's "Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) covers participation in such major government benefit programs as OASI, Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, and public or other subsidized rental housing. The purpose of the continously designed panel survey is "to obtain information on the distribution of income and wealth and participation in government programs by the U.S. population" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984a, p. 1). The extremely small number of aged blacks in the panel prevents statistically acceptable breakouts for them (Coder, 1984).

II. THE APPLICABILITY OF DOUBLE JEOPARDY

When aged blacks were first labeled as being doubly jeopardized by race and age, [Talley and Kaplan, 1956] they were mostly poor inhabitants of substandard housing in racially segregated areas where their constitutional rights to public resources, including hospitalization, were often denied. Many aged blacks who were then, in fact, eligible for OASI benefits were denied them often because they lacked birth certificates or any other evidentiary proof of age that was acceptable by SSA personnel. Aged blacks then were often jeopardized by the problems of race that were unduly compounded by the problems of old age.

The primary purposes of Double Jeopardy--The Older Negro in America Today were to show "what it is like to be old and Negro in America today" and to recommend expanded services for older blacks through racially desegregating existing services and creating new services (e.g., improved standards of income maintenance, better housing, subsidized health and medical services, home help services, portable meals, multi-service centers for the aged, and vocational training and retraining programs for employable older blacks). Many of the new services then being urged now exist under various federal programs (e.g., Supplementary Security Income (SSI) and Medicare).

As stated previously, aged blacks were doubly jeopardized because old age compounded the racial hardships they had often endured throughout their lives. Double jeopardy emerged in old age because blacks brought:

> To their older years a whole lifetime of economic and social indignities, a lifetime of struggle to get and keep a job, more often than not at unskilled hard labor, a lifetime of overcrowded, substandard housing in slum neighborhoods, of inadequate medical care, of unequal opportunities for education and the cultural and social activities that nourish the spirit, a lifetime of second-class citizenship, a lifetime of watching their children learn the high cost of being a Negro in America. [Double Jeopardy-The Older Negro in American Today]

The application of double jeopardy to aged blacks helped to focus much needed academic and public attention on the morally undesirable social conditions of many aged blacks, including the harsh effects of racism on them. In defining aged blacks as a social problem, however, the generally

gloomy portrait depicted almost all aged blacks [if not all aged blacks] as isolated or disengaged burdens to their families and communities, as dissatisfied with their lives, and unable to copy adequately with the vicissitudes of old age. In contrast, Jackson [1967, 1980], however, suggested that most aged blacks were not isolated from or burdens on their families and communities and that successful coping with old age might be better among aged blacks than among aged whites, owing largely to their prior experiences in coping with racism.

A contemporary perspective on the structural focus of the League's report on demographic comparisons of blacks and whites is that it generally ignored the subjective aspects of being old and black. Yet its structural focus and its section on "What Can Your Community Do?" [pp. 23-26] suggest the political use of double jeopardy to define aged blacks as a social problem. The explicit meaning of the monograph is the dire circumstances of aged blacks were due to the effects of racial segregation and discrimination, to wit,

> The facts you have read here comprise only a sketch of the older Negro in American today. Much more must be learned before a full-scale portrait can be made. Research, experiment, planning-all are needed, not only on a nationwide basis, but in the many cities, towns and villages where older Negroes are living out their last years. Our obligation is to see to it that their tragedy will never be repeated in this nation, that the aged Negroes of the future will not face their time of life burdened by the accumulated hardships of a lifetime, that never again will they "be placed in double jeopardy." [Double Jeopardy-The Older Negro in America Today]

The tragedy never to be repeated is that of racism, so that subsequent generations of aged blacks will never be double jeopardized by their race and age. This is the essential meaning of Double Jeopardy-- The Older Negro in America Today.

How applicable now is the concept of double jeopardy to current and future generations of aged blacks? The theoretical utility of double jeopardy as a gerontological concept is very limited for at least two reasons. The academic concentration on double jeopardy as the central or key concept of minority aging, as claimed, for example, by Manuel [1982] is naive. Using that concept detracts seriously from the study of the systematic and deviant processes of aging of adult blacks, including changes in their social statuses and roles as they age.

The research applications of the concept of double jeopardy have not yet dealt directly with the effects of racism on aging. For example, demographic comparisons of aged blacks and whites provide useful information about various differences between the two populations. They do not, however, provide adequate data about what it is like to be old and black or about the specific effects of racism on individual aging. Thus, in addition to the considerable and often illogical expansion of double jeopardy to incorporate other groups that were never subjected to legal racism [see, e.g., Markides, 1981], the enormous cost and time in measuring the effects of lifelong racial victimization are prohibitive.

Despite contrary claims that are based only on cross-sectional data [see, e.g., Jackson and Wood, 1976; Dowd and Bengston, 1978; Cuellar and Weeks, 1980; Jackson, Kolody, and Wood, 1982], no investigator has yet measured the double jeopardy of aged blacks.

Double jeopardy, an extremely useful measure of structural and political inequalities for groups, should be narrowed to refer only to oppressed groups in the United States whose oppression is based solely on their ascribed characteristics. [See Meyers, 1984] This is not to argue for example, that the federally protected groups of minority aged, such as white immigrants from Spain who have never been racially victimized in the United States [see, e.g., White, 1982], do not need such preferential services as linguistic interpreters, but to stress strongly the fact that many aged minorities in the United States today were never victimized by racism throughout their lives. The current concept of minority group used by the federal government has almost been expanded to meaninglessness.

This argument is not one against comity between blacks and other legitimate minorities with similar histories and concerns, but an argument that emphasizes the inappropriateness of the conceptual weakening of double jeopardy, thereby leading to the inappropriate fashioning of federal remedies for aged blacks. It is important to remember in this context that the survivors of the birth cohort of blacks who were born in the United States in the year that racial segregation in public schools was declared unconstitutional will not be 65 years of age before 2019, and that their counterparts who were born in the year of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, will not be 65 years of age before 2029.

Therefore, the narrowed concept of double jeopardy should be politically useful to reputable black organizations, such as the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who seek to shape federal policies for aged blacks for at least the next several decades. During the same time period, gerontologists, and especially black gerontologists, should try to accumulate substantially helpful knowledge about the systematic and deviant age changes that accompany the physiological, psychological, and social aging of adult blacks. Also interested black social scientists could contribute by providing significant data about the effects of federal policies on aged blacks and the effects of racism on the processes of aging.

III. RECENT DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS OF AGED BLACKS

The descriptions of the demographic trends of aged blacks since 1970 that have been presented elsewhere [see, e.g., Hill, 1978; Jackson, 1980, 1985 (in press); Manuel and Reid, 1982] all attest to the continuing and projected numerical increases of aged blacks, and to the growing proportion of blacks over 75 years. The percentage of population increase of aged blacks of about 31% between 1970 and 1980 in the United States was greater than the increase for the total population of all races and ages (11.5%), of blacks of all ages (17.5%), and of aged whites (25.0%) [Jackson, 1985 (in press), p. 273]. The aging of the population of the United States is accompanied by the aging of the black population.

The population of aged blacks has also grown older since 1970. That is, proportionately more of its members are now over 75 years of age and at greater risk for disabling health conditions. Other trends for the population of aged blacks include increased female excessiveness, urban dwelling and living alone (especially among women), slowly rising educational levels, decreasing labor force participation rates, increased median income from cash and non-cash sources, more widespread receipt of OASI benefits, and mortality improvement. Similar trends are apparent for aged whites.

The following demographic data about aged blacks and whites focus on their age, sex, and size distributions, marital statuses, living arrangements, geographical location and mobility, average educational levels, labor force participation and unemployment rates, crude death rates, and life expectancy values.

A. Age, Sex, and Size

Table 1. The age, sex, and size distributions of aged blacks and whites, United States, 1980 and 1983 (numbers in thousands).*

	Blacks			Whites		
Age and sex	1983	1980	% change	1983	1980	% change
Total, 65+ years	2,226	2,092	6.4	24,772	23,162	7.0
65-74 years	1,378	1,344	2.5	14,740	14,045	4.9
75-84 years	675	589	14.6	7,733	7,057	9.6
85+ years	174	159	9.0	2,300	2,060	11.6
Females, 65+ years	1,345	1,253	7.3	14,839	13,935	6.5
65-74 years	808	780	3.6	8,318	7,985	4.0
75-84 years	420	365	15.1	4,887	4,489	8.9
85+ years	117	108	8.3	1,634	1,461	11.8
Males, 65+ years	882	853	3.4	9,933	9,372	6.0
65-74 years	570	568	0.4	6,421	6,126	4.8
75-84 years	255	231	10.4	2,846	2,619	8.7
85+ years	57	54	5.6	666	627	6.2
Median age (in years)						
Females, all ages	27.1	26.2	3.4	33.1	32.3	2.5
Males, all ages	24.4	23.7	3.0	30.5	29.6	3.0

*Source of raw data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 949, Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Age, Sex, and Race: 1980 to 1983, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984b, Table 1, pp. 7, 8, and 12.

Table 1 contains data about the age, sex, and size distributions of aged blacks and whites in the United States in 1980 and 1983, the median ages by sex of the black and white populations in 1980 and 1983, and their percentage changes between 1980 and 1983.

The percentage of population change of aged persons of both sexes between 1980 and 1983 was slightly greater among whites (7.0%) than among blacks (6.4%), among black women (7.3%) than among white women (6.5%), and among white men (6.0%) than among black men (3.4%). The greatest percentage of population change between 1980 and 1983 took place among aged black women and the least among aged black men. In terms of sheer numbers, however, the greatest change was among aged white women, whose population increased by about 904,000 persons, as compared to the much smaller increase of about 561,000 white men, 92,000 black women, and 29,00 black men. The greatest percentage changes by age cohorts between 1980 and 1983 occurred among persons between 75-84 years of age for black women and men and white men, and for white women in the 85 or more years of age group.

The median ages of each race-sex population of all ages increased between 1980 and 1983. The greatest percentage increase occurred among black females and the least among white females. In each year, however, as in earlier years, the oldest population was white females and the youngest was black males. Also between 1980 and 1983, the average age difference between females and males in each race widened slightly for blacks, while narrowing for whites.

B. Sex Ratios

Table 2 contains the sex ratios (i.e., the number of men per every 100 women) of aged blacks and whites in 1980 and 1983. The ratios were computed from the applicable data in Table 1.

The most striking change between 1980 and 1983 is the greater degree of female excessiveness in the black (65.6) than in the white (66.9) aged population. Between 1900 and 1980, female excessiveness was always more pronounced among aged whites than among aged blacks [Jackson, 1980]. Among persons who were 75 or more years of age, however, female excessiveness was still more pronounced among whites in both 1980 and 1983 in the United States. Female excessiveness in the population of all ages has been apparent among blacks since about 1850, but only among whites since about 1950 [Jackson, 1971]. The growing female excessiveness among aged blacks and whites forecasts a number of social consequences, many of which point toward the probability of the increasing dependence of aged females on extra-familial informal and formal support systems.

Table 2. Sex ratios of aged blacks and whites, United States, 1980 and 1983.

	Sex ratios			
	Blacks		Whites	
Age cohort	1983	1980	1983	1980
65+ years of age	65.6	68.1	66.9	67.3
65-74 years of age	70.5	72.8	77.2	76.7
75-84 years of age	60.7	63.3	58.2	58.3
85+ years of age	48.7	50.0	40.8	42.9

Table 3. Percentage distributions of marital statuses of aged blacks and whites by sex and age, United States, 1981 and 1983.*

Type of marital status and age	Percentage distribution of marital statuses							
	Black women		Black men		White women		White men	
	1981	1983	1981	1983	1981	1983	1981	1983
Never married								
% 65-74 years	3.6	4.9	3.1	6.5	5.2	5.5	5.8	4.4
% 75+ years	3.1	5.4	1.1	2.6	6.2	6.3	3.2	3.5
Spouse present								
% 65-74 years	33.0	33.5	68.2	62.7	50.1	49.8	80.9	82.7
% 75+ years	17.6	14.4	53.3	58.0	24.6	22.5	72.3	70.9
Separated								
% 65-74 years	7.0	6.2	6.4	7.7	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.8
% 75+ years	2.3	4.5	5.1	6.8	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.6
Divorced								
% 65-74 years	6.2	6.8	4.5	6.8	5.1	4.2	3.6	3.6
% 75+ years	3.3	3.5	4.8	3.8	2.9	2.2	2.4	2.3
Widowed								
% 65-74 years	50.2	48.6	17.8	16.3	38.2	39.2	8.2	7.5
% 75+ years	73.8	72.2	35.7	28.7	65.8	67.8	20.6	21.6

*Sources of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 372, Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1981, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982a,

C. Marital Statuses

Table 3 contains the percentage distributions of the marital statuses of aged blacks and whites by sex and age (65-74 and 75+ years) in 1981 and 1983.

Although some slight shifts occurred, the distribution of marital statuses for each race-sex-age cohort remained relatively stable between 1981 and 1983. The usual sex differences by spousal presence among the aged were readily apparent in both years. More specifically, far larger proportions of men than of women were married and living with their spouses. In 1983, among all aged persons, only 27% of black women were married and living with their husbands, as compared to the much higher proportions of 40% of white women, 63% of black men, and 78% of white men.

The presence of a spouse was least likely among black women. The rates of widowhood among women were substantially larger for black than for white women in the younger age group. This supports the long trend of earlier widowhood among black than among white women.

D. Living Arrangements

Table 4 contains data about the percentage distributions of the living arrangements of aged blacks and whites (65-74 and 75+ years) in the civilian, noninstitutionalized population of the United States in 1983.

With the exception of white women over 75 years of age, most aged persons in each race-sex group lived in families in 1983. But also, and quite contrary to a popular myth that almost all aged blacks reside in loving and caring families, almost two-fifths of aged black women did not live in familial households in 1983. This represents a continually increasing trend of the past several decades [Jackson, 1980, 1985 (in press)], which may support the thesis of "social intimacy at a distance," (i.e., many aged persons prefer to live near their children but not with them) [see, e.g., Rosenmayr and Köckels, 1963; Shanas, 1979]. The available data, however, do not permit the determination of the proportion of childless persons among the aged who live alone.

A substantial plurality of black and white women lived alone in 1983. Specifically, for the 65-74 year-old cohort, 36.7% of black and 35.8% of

Table 4. Percentage distributions of the living arrangements of aged blacks and whites by sex and age, United States, 1983.*

Type of living arrangement and age	Percentage distributions			
	Black women	Black men	White women	White men
% in families				
65-74 years of age	60.5	77.3	62.5	85.8
75+ years of age	57.7	69.9	47.4	77.8
% householder				
65-74 years of age	20.2	69.7	9.1	79.8
75+ years of age	22.4	54.2	9.9	72.7
% householder with spouse present				
65-74 years of age	1.5	62.8	2.1	77.4
75+ years of age	2.0	49.9	1.0	69.0
% spouse of householder				
65-74 years of age	31.0	5.1	47.7	2.4
75+ years of age	15.6	2.2	23.3	3.7
% not in families				
65-74 years of age	39.5	22.7	37.5	14.2
75+ years of age	42.3	30.1	52.6	22.1
% nonfamily householder				
65-74 years of age	38.0	21.5	36.5	12.9
75+ years of age	40.2	24.3	50.8	21.6

*Source of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 389, Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1983, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984c, Table 2, pp. 22-23.

white women lived alone, as compared to the much smaller percentages of 20.0% for black and 12.0% for white men living alone. Comparable data for persons over 75 years of age were 37.1% of black women, 50.1% of white women, 22.5% of black men, and 20.7% of white men.

E. Geographical Location and Mobility

In 1980, most aged blacks and whites lived in the South. Regardless of their regional location, most lived in metropolitan areas. Far more aged blacks (52.7%) than aged whites (27.0%) also lived in central cities in 1980. Almost 62% of aged blacks, as compared to fewer than 17% of aged whites, dwelled in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan poverty areas in 1980 [Jackson, 1985 (in press)].

The geographical mobility of aged blacks and whites between 1982 and 1983 was limited. Almost 95% of them lived in the same house in each year [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984d]. The residential stability of the aged between 1982 and 1983, as in previous years, did not vary significantly by race, income level (i.e., above or below the poverty level), and familial status.

A very significant change in the residential localities of aged blacks since 1900 is reflected in the constant exodus of blacks from farms in the rural areas of the United States. In 1920, for example, almost 49% of about 10.5 million blacks of all ages lived on farms dwindling to only 0.8% of approximately 27.2 million blacks in 1983 [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984e, Table 1, p. 8]. Also, about 15.1% (or 985,000) of all black families in the United States in 1983 had at least one member who was 65 or more years of age. The percentage of black families with at least one aged member was much higher among farm (37.5%) than among non-farm (14.9%) families. About 73.3% of the black farm and about 60.4% of the black non-farm families with any aged member had only one aged member [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984e, Table 7, p. 13].

Clifford et. al. (1985, p. 30) reported that, based on the 1980 census, about 17.4% of all aged blacks resided in rural areas, with 2.2% of all aged blacks in 1980 living in places where the population was 2,500 or fewer persons. Their estimation of the total aged black population of about 1,857,000, is, however, considerably lower than the estimated 1980 population of about 2,092,000 given in Table 1. Therefore, while they indicated that they did not include all aged blacks in their estimation of the number of rural aged blacks, the current trend is still definitely toward almost no aged blacks on farms and very few aged blacks in farm and non-farm rural areas in the United States.

About 15.1% (or 985,000) of all black families in the United States in 1983 had at least one aged member. The percentage of such families was much higher among farm (37.5%) then non-farm (14.9%) families. About 73.3% of black farm and 60.4% of black non farm families with aged members had only one such person [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984e, Table 7, p. 13].

F. Formal Education

Table 5 shows the median number of years of formal education for aged blacks and whites by age in 1981 and 1983.

The average level of formal education for aged blacks is low and considerably lower than that of aged whites. For example, in 1983, the aver-

Table 5. Median years of formal education of aged blacks and whites by sex and age, United States, 1981 and 1983.*

Age and year	Median years of formal education			
	Black women	Black men	White women	White men
65-69 years old				
1981	8.4	8.2	12.1	12.0
1983	8.7	8.2	12.2	12.2
70-74 years old				
1981	7.8	6.2	11.0	10.7
1983	8.4	7.5	12.1	11.3
75+ years old				
1981	6.3	5.6	9.3	8.9
1983	7.2	5.6	10.1	9.0

*Sources of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 390, Educational Attainment in the United States: March 1981 and 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984f, Table 1, pp. 10-11, and unpublished provisional data for 1983 from a personal communication with Ms. Andrea Adams, Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Suitland, Maryland, 29 November 1984.

age white male had remained in school three or four years longer than his black counterpart. Further, the increasing educational levels of the aged over time were much more pronounced for black women and whites than for black men. In fact, the average educational level of black men under 70 or more than 75 years of age barely changed between 1981 and 1983.

G. Labor Force Particpation and Unemployment Rates

The labor force participation and unemployment rates of aged blacks and whites by sex that are shown in Table 6 represent the seasonally adjusted annual rates for 1981 and 1983 and the seasonally unadjusted monthly rates for October, 1984.

The data in Table 6 show, for example, that 9.3% of all black women who were 65 or more years of age in 1981 were in the labor force. Of those women who were in the labor force, 6.0% were unemployed. Or, stated differently, for every 1,000 aged black women in 1981, of the 93 in the labor force, about 87 were employed and about six were unemployed.

The labor force participation rates in 1981, 1983, and October, 1984 were highest for white men, followed by in descending order by black men, black women, and white women. The most dramatic decline in those rates between 1981 and 1984 was for black men. The unemployment rates were highest for black men, followed by black women, at each time period. These

Table 6. Labor force participation and unemployment rates for aged blacks and whites by sex, United States, 1981, 1983, and October, 1984.*

Type of rate and year/month	Black women	Black men	White women	White men
Labor force				
1981	9.3	16.0	7.9	18.5
1983	8.2	14.0	7.8	17.7
1984 (October)	8.9	11.8	7.9	17.1
Unemployment				
1981	6.0	7.5	3.4	2.4
1983	6.3	11.8	3.1	3.2
1984 (October)	6.6	10.5	3.8	2.5

*Source of data: Personal communication with Wayne Howe, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 30 November 1984, who indicated that he obtained the data from the Handbook of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 2175, December, 1983, Employment and Earnings, Volume 31, No. 1, January, 1984, and Employment and Earnings, Volume 31, No. 11, November, 1984.

data suggest that when aged blacks and whites seek employment, black men experience the most difficulty in obtaining jobs. Among younger blacks adults, however, unemployment rates are usually higher for women.

Most aged persons are not in the labor force. Their trend of decreasing participation in the labor force has been accompanied by their increasing eligibility for and receipt of OASI and other public and private pension benefits. The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1965, as amended, prohibits the mandatory retirement of most workers under 70 years of age on account of age. It also prohibits discrimination in employment on account of age for most persons between 40 and 70 years of age. But, the recent raising of the mandatory retirement age for most workers, including the lifting of any age ceiling by the federal government for most of its employees, has not generally been accompanied by an increase in the labor force participation rates of the aged. For example, in 1983, 32.1% of all aged black women were under 70 years of age, as were 35.6% of aged black men, 30.2% of aged white women, and 36.7% of aged white men. As may be inferred from the data in Table 6, however, substantial proportions of the youngest aged are not in the labor force, thereby raising anew the issue of the preferences of aged persons for continued employment when their earnings would not exceed substantially their retirement benefits.

H. Income Levels

Table 7 contains data about the poverty rates and the poverty ratios of aged blacks and whites between 1966 and 1963. It shows that the black poverty rate was consistently higher than the white poverty rate in each year, and particularly so in 1977, 1982, and 1983. The poverty rate of the aged declined much more swiftly between 1966 and 1983 among whites (54.5%) than among blacks (34.1%). The number of poor aged blacks increased by 10% between 1966 and 1983, or from about 722,000 to about 796,000. But the numerical increase of aged blacks between 1981 and 1983 was accompanied by a decrease of about three percent of poor aged blacks, from about 820,000 to 796,000.

Table 7. Poverty rates of aged blacks and whites, United States, 1966-1983.*

Year	Poverty rates		Black/white ratio
	Blacks	Whites	
1983	36.3	12.0	3.025
1982	38.2	12.4	3.081
1981	39.0	13.1	2.977
1980	38.1	13.6	2.801
1979	36.2	13.3	2.722
1978	33.9	12.1	2.802
1977	36.3	11.9	3.050
1976	34.8	13.2	2.636
1975	36.3	13.4	2.709
1974	34.3	12.8	2.680
1973	37.1	14.4	2.576
1972	39.9	16.8	2.375
1971	39.3	19.9	1.975
1970	48.0	22.5	2.133
1969	50.2	23.3	2.154
1968	47.7	23.1	2.065
1967	53.3	27.7	1.924
1966	55.1	26.4	2.087

*Source of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 145, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1983 (Advance Data from the March 1984 Current Population Survey), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984g Table 15, p. 20.

The number of poor aged blacks who lived in female-headed families (where no spouse was present) rose from about 302,000 in 1966 to about 480,000 in 1983, an increase of 58.9%. In 1983, aged persons in these families represented about 60.3% of all poor aged blacks. Poverty is far more pronounced among black females than among black and white males and white females of all ages. In 1983, 41.4% of aged black women were poor, as compared to only 28.3% of black males, 14.7% of white females, and 8.2% of white males who were aged [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982, Table 17, p. 25].

Table 8 shows the median amount of total money income in 1980 and 1982 of aged blacks and whites in the civilian, noninstitutionalized population by their familial statuses.

A reasonable interpretation of the data in Table 8 is that, when

Table 8. Median total money income of the aged, by race and familial status, United States, 1980 and 1982 (in constant 1982$)

Familial status	Blacks		Whites	
	1982	1980	1982	1980
Householder, 65+ years of age	$9,618	$9,819	$16,809	$15,675
Married couple	9,855	9,968	16,947	15,586
Wife in paid labor force	17,796	12,525	23,730	23,725
Wife not in paid labor force	9,230	9,191	15,839	14,568
Female householder, 65+ years of age no spouse present	8,497	9,331	15,689	16,099
Unrelated individual, 65+ years of age				
Women	3,916	4,168	6,419	6,074
Men	5,881	5,679	8,231	7,216

*Sources of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 132, Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States: 1980, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982, Tables 26 and 27, pp. 88, 92, 95-97; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 142, Money Income of Households, Families and Persons in the United States: 1982, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984e, Tables 23 and 24, pp. 76, 80, 83-85.

measured by their median total money income, aged blacks generally fared less well in 1982 than in 1980. The only estimated gains were married couples with wives in the paid labor force and unrelated males. In contrast, whites were usually better off, except for married couples with wives in the paid labor force and female householders.

Households with aged householders of all races posted a 5.2% real increase in their after-tax mean household income between 1981 and 1982. This increase exceeded any gains made by white and black householders of any age [a 1.7% real increase for white, and no real increase for black householders (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984i, p. 1)].

Also, Table 9 shows that the 1982 simulated after-tax income per household member by age of householder for all races was higher among aged householders than among householders under 55 years of age.

Table 9. Simulated after-tax money income per household member by age of householder, all races, United States, 1982.*

Age of householder	Income
15-24 years	$5,571
25-29 years	6,393
30-34 years	6,158
35-39 years	6,065
40-44 years	6,372
45-49 years	6,866
50-54 years	7,786
55-59 years	8,599
60-64 years	8,505
65+ years	7,845

*Source of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 137, After-Tax Money Income Estimates of Households: 1982, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 19841 Table 2, pp. 22-25.

I. Crude Death Rates

Table 10 contains the crude death rates per 100,000 for all causes of death, by race, sex, and age, for persons who were 65 or more years of age in the United States in 1981, 1982, and 1983 and the three-year annual averages. The rates by age follow the Gomperz curve of geometrically increasing mortality with increasing age.

Mortality improvement (i.e., lowered crude death rates between two or more time periods) was evident between 1981 and 1983 for both races and sexes for persons under 75 or more than 80 years of age. Mortality improvement varied, however, by race-sex-age specific groups. It occurred among black men who were under 70 or more than 80 years of age, among white men under 85 years of age, among black women between 70-84 years of age, and among white women who were 65-74 or 80 or more years of age.

The differences between the 1981 and 1983 crude death rates were generally slight, except for the 80-84 year-old cohort, where mortality improved by about 15% among black women and 7% among black men. Yearly fluctuations in mortality rates, however, are common, due to such shifting events as extreme temperatures and epidemics of influenza.

The racial crossover in mortality (i.e., the age point where the crude death rates of whites in each race-sex-age, which were lower at earlier age points than the comparable rates of blacks, become higher than the black rates) has generally risen during the past several decades [Jackson, 1982]. In 1981, the racial crossover in mortality for black and white males took place among persons who were 85 or more years of age, shifting, in 1982 and 1983, to the 80-84 year-old cohort. The female racial crossover only occurred among persons who were 85 or more years of age in each year.

Among persons under 80 years of age, the black crude death rates have remained higher than the comparable white rates in each sex group for at least a decade, thereby lending support to the hypothesis that the racial

Table 10. Crude death rates per 100,000 for all causes of death of the aged by race, sex, and age, United States, and the three-year annual average, 1981-1883.*

Age and year	Crude death rates per 100,000				
	All races, both sexes	Black men	White men	Black women	White women
Annual rates					
65-69 years					
1981	2,408.1	4,424.1	3,215.4	2,477.4	1,629.3
1982	2,411.7	4,435.7	3,230.9	2,337.9	1,639.7
1983	2,367.4	4,315.3	3,124.9	2,502.3	1,628.9
70-74 years					
1981	3,573.1	5,866.5	4,885.7	3,495.7	2,517.9
1982	3,516.7	6,084.0	4,770.8	3,348.1	2,489.2
1983	3,516.2	5,968.8	4.799.9	3,430.9	2,473.1
75-79 years					
1981	5,265.3	7,366.7	7,256.2	4,691.1	4,005.3
1982	5,270.7	7,625.0	7,232.4	4,803.1	3,991.9
1983	5,269.6	7,548.8	7,234.6	4,633.8	4,028.3
80-84 years					
1981	8,366.7	11,156.3	10,922.0	7,891.9	6,955.6
1982	8,107.1	10,494.1	10,809.8	6,918.4	6,750.8
1983	7,985.6	10,362.6	10,740.4	6,675.0	6,623.9
85+ years					
1981	15,379.7	15,396.4	18,454.0	11,933.0	14,438.2
1982	15,228.6	15,732.1	18,333.3	11,660.9	14,278.0
1983	15,422.3	15,386.0	18,797.3	12,273.5	14,390.5
Annual average					
65-69 years	2,395.7	4,391.7	3,190.4	2,439.2	1,623.6
70-74 years	3,535.3	5,973.1	4,818.8	3,424.9	2,493.4
75-79 years	5,268.5	7,513.5	7,241.1	4,709.3	4,008.5
80-84 years	8,153.1	10,671.0	10,824.1	7,161.8	6,776.8
85+ years	15,343.5	15,504.8	18,528.2	11,955.8	14,368.9

*Sources of data: The data were obtained through personal communications with Ms. Sharon Ramirez (28 November 1984) and Ms. Mary White (3 December 1984), National Center for Health Statistics, Hyattsville, Maryland.

crossover in mortality is affected mostly if not entirely, by environmental factors [Jackson, 1985 (in press)]. Also the annual averages of the 1981-1983 crude death rates of aged black women and men indicate that the racial crossover in mortality did not occur between black and white men who were under 80 years of age, or between black and white women who were under 85 years of age.

J. Life Expectancy Values

Table 11 contains provisional data for the life expectancy values of black and white females and males in the United States at 0 years of age between 1980 and 1983, and at 65 years of age in 1980 and 1981. No data were available beyond 1981 for life expectancy values at 65 years of age by race and sex.

Table 11, Life expectancy values of blacks and whites by sex, United States, at 0 years of age, 1980-1983 and 65 years of age, 1980-1981.*

Age and year	Life expectancy values			
	Black males	White males	Black females	White females
At 0 years of age				
1980	63.7	70.7	72.3	78.1
1981	64.4	71.1	73.0	78.5
1982	64.8	71.4	73.8	78.7
1983	65.2	71.6	73.8	78.8
At 65 years of age				
1980	12.9	14.2	16.5	18.5
1981	13.2	14.4	17.0	18.8

*Source of data: the provisional data were obtained in a personal communication with Ms. Sharon Ramirez, National Center for Health Statistics, Hyattsville, Maryland, 28 November 1984.

The life expectancy values were lowest in each category for black males, but higher among black females than among white males. They increased over time at both 0 and at 65 years of age. The greatest percentage increase between 1980 and 1983 at 0 years of age was for black males (2.4%), followed by black females (2.1%), white males (1.3%), and white females (0.9%). Corresponding data at 65 years of age between 1980 and 1981 were 3.0% for black females, 2.3% for black males, 1.6% for white females, and 1.4% for white males. The life expectancy values in any give year for any age-specific group reflect the mortality experience of that age group in the applicable year. Therefore, increased life expectancy values reflect mortality improvement.

III. FEDERAL PROGRAMS

The demographic trends of the aged black and the aged white population of the United States during the past several decades are very similar in many respects. For example, the trends of population increase, increased longevity due to mortality improvement, reduced sex ratios, rising educational levels, reduced rates of labor force participation, and reduced poverty rates typify both populations. Also, the percentage of population change of each population will be affected soon by the entry of the surviving members of the birth cohort of persons born during the depression years (roughly between 1930 and 1939, when the birth rates were relatively low) and later by the survivors of the "baby boom" generation (roughly between 1947 and 1964, when the birth rates were much higher). Further, racial comparisons of the attitudes of aged blacks and whites about their needs as aged persons and about the availability of social resources to meet those needs are remarkably similar when the racial comparisons are controlled by socioeconomic status [see, e.g., Jackson and Walls, 1978].

There are, however, some problems with using demographic comparisons of aged blacks and whites to measure the adequacy of federal programs for aged blacks, to determine the consitutional and social validity of the racial issues raised about those programs, and to formulate public policies for aged blacks. Three of these problems follow:

1. The usual demographic comparisons tend to mask the considerable heterogeneity of the aged and the significant differences, if any, between the current cohort and the immediately successive cohorts of the aged. For example, the educational level of the average black is quite low, but the range of formal education of aged blacks runs from no formal education to the post doctoral education.

2. The racial comparisons that dominate the presentations of demographic data about aged blacks and whites tend to mask the likenesses of aged blacks and whites of similar socioeconomic and familial statuses. For example, the aged black mortality rate is higher than the aged white mortality rate, but the higher black mortality rate is undoubtedly affected by the higher proportion of poor persons among aged blacks than among aged whites. Even among blacks, the mortality rates are lower for the non-poor than for the poor.

3. The demographic data are often very useful in describing the variously existing social conditions of aged blacks and whites, but, the inferences that are often drawn from these data are often quite insufficient for the effective development and implementation of federal policies that affect aged blacks. For example, the data that are available indicate that a substantial plurality of aged blacks are poor, and especially so for aged black female householders, but the data do not show the significant differences, if any, in the pre-aged and post-aged incomes of blacks, nor do they speak to the question of adequate income for the aged, which is obviously a value decision.

Therefore, as previously indicated, the major focus of this section about aged blacks is on the very hard questions of (1) the adequacy of the major federal programs available to the aged without regard to their income status (i.e., OASI and Medicare) and available to the aged poor (e.g., SSI, Medicaid, food stamps, subsidized housing, and the services funded under the Adminstration on Aging); (2) the major racial issues that have been raised about those programs; and (3) some recommendations about research and other public policies that might enhance the well-being of aged blacks.

A. Adequacy of Federal Programs

Very few studies about federal programs for the aged address directly particular problems that may be encountered by aged blacks. However, they are often useful in elucidating the issues that affect the aged and in flagging early on some of the anticipated problems [see, e.g., Achenbaum, 1983; Brinkley, 1984; Knapp, 1984; Myles, 1984; Schramm, 1984; and Wilson, 1984].

Any judgment about the adequacy of federal programs for the aged must depend on the measuring criteria and the availibility of the applicable data. The different criteria that might be used should include the following three.

One criterion is whether all eligible blacks receive the goods and services to which they are legally entitled. A second criterion is whether the delivery of the entitled goods and services is rational and efficient. A third criterion is whether the goods and services aged blacks receive meet their societal needs (i.e., the needs which can be remedied through federal intervention).

These criteria can be partially and incompletely evaluated by focusing most specifically on the entitlement programs of OASI, SSI Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, subsidized housing, and on the service, training, and research programs under the administrative jurisdiction of the Administration on Aging and the National Institute on Aging.

Almost all aged blacks probably receive the benefits to which they are entitled under OASI, SSI Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps. In 1980, among black families with an aged householder, almost 89% of the non-poor and 80% of the poor received Social Security benefits, as did almost 90% of

aged non-poor and 85% of poor aged black unrelated individuals. [Jackson, 1985 (in press), p. 277].

Table 12 contains data about the mean monthly household cash income and the percentage of persons who resided in a household with one or more members who received benefits from a means-tested federal program between July and September, 1983. The data are only specific to the total population and to the black female, black male, white female, white male, and aged populations of the United States.

Table 12. Mean monthly household cash income and percentage of persons residing in households with recipients of means-tested benefits from federal programs, by race and sex and age, United States, monthly averages, July to September 1983 (numbers in thousands).*

Characteristic	Total Population	Black females	Black males	White females	White males	Aged females	Aged males
Total number of persons	224,311	14,544	12,658	98,006	92,368	14,890	10,118
Mean monthly household cash income	$2,445	$1,501	$1,665	$2,428	$2,708	$1,464	$1,818
% of total in households with one+ recipients	18.8	53.2	45.1	15.1	12.6	21.4	16.2
% with cash benefits	10.0	31.8	26.7	7.9	6.1	11.7	9.2
% with non-cash benefits	17.6	51.4	43.0	14.3	11.5	18.8	13.4
% with food stamps	9.3	32.9	25.0	7.1	5.4	6.8	4.3

*Source of data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-70, No. 1, Economic Characteristics of Households in the United States: Third Quarter 1983, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984a, Table 2, pp. 13-14.

The data in Table 12 do not speak directly to aged blacks, but some plausible inferences about them are possible. They are based on the fact that the poverty rates of aged blacks, considerably higher than those of aged whites, are similar to those of blacks of all ages. Therefore, a substantial plurality of aged blacks probably receive cash and non-cash means-tested benefits from federal programs. Also, due to their greater poverty, the mean-tested benefits received by aged blacks are probably proportionately greater than those received by aged whites.

A question to be asked is how have aged blacks fared economically

since 1981? In their analyses of the impacts of federal policy changes on the aged since 1981, both Storey (1983) and Simms (1984) think that the impact on the aged population, including the minority and the poor aged, was generally negligible. Storey's 1983 analysis completed prior to the enactment of Public Law 98-21 in April, 1983, which involved amendments to Social Security, contains no specific insights about aged blacks, or any concrete data about the effects of policy changes on them. Citing the poverty rates of aged blacks between 1975 and 1981, Storey [1983, p. 16] did indicate that "the poverty rate for blacks appears to have worsened since 1975."

The poverty rate for aged blacks did increase slightly between 1975 and 1981, but their 1975 and 1983 poverty rates of 36.3% were identical (see Table 7). The relative stability of the poverty rate of aged blacks may be a partial function of the growing entry of many low-income women who are ineligible for OASI primary or secondary benefits, or at least secondary benefits that would be higher than their entitled primary benefits. Also, a growing difference between the newer and older cohorts of aged black women is probably that proportionately more of the former are ineligible for OASI benefits as spouses or widows. Further, mortality improvement among low-income blacks especially may mitigate against any significant decrease in the poverty rates of aged blacks (largely because the poverty rates also reflect the distribution of educational, employment, and income levels among them during their pre-aged years).

Simms' [1984, p. 3] use of simulated data led to her finding that, between 1981 and 1984, the absolute income of aged black persons rose by 6.1% and of black families with an aged householder by 3.1%. Although not directly comparable, those results differ somewhat from the data that were presented in Table 8, which showed that the total money income in constant dollar for aged blacks generally decreased between 1980 and 1982. Simms' [1984] simulation, however, based on the Urban Institute's computer-based TRIM model, also included such non-cash benefits as food stamps.

The quintile distribution of income among families and unrelated individuals has remained relatively constant during the past few decades. For instance, between 1947 and 1982, the percent distribution of aggregate income for nonwhite families in the highest fifth rose slightly from 45.3 to 46.2%, and from 48.8 to 49.6% for nonwhite unrelated individuals. Comparable data between 1947 and 1982 showed decreases for whites, from 42.5 to 42.1% for families and from 56.8 to 47.3% for unrelated individuals [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984h, Table 17, pp. 47-49].

Therefore, the continued increase of poor blacks into the population of aged blacks will not diminish considerably the poverty rate of aged blacks unless the pre-aged earnings and pensions of poor blacks in their younger years are improved.

In contrast to the likelihood that almost all aged blacks receive their entitlements under OASI, SSI, Medicare, and Medicaid, most aged blacks who are eligible for publicly subsized housing probably do not receive that housing.

Based on a comparison of the trends of tenants in the major housing

subsidy programs of public housing, Section 8, Section 236, and rent supplements in the United States between 1974 and 1981, Burke [1984, p. 2], defining poor to "mean households with incomes under 50% of median income," reported that about 83% of poor households containing persons of all races were not served by the programs. Burke [1984, p. 2] concluded that, "The fairly low coverage of the programs is explained by limited appropriations, by high standards that limit the number who can be served within these appropriations, and by program design which does not try to serve the very neediest."

Burke's [1984] report for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development also contains raw data from an in-house Simulation of Housing & Income Policies (SHIP) Model that was run in October, 1984. It shows that an extremely small proportion of aged blacks who were eligible for publicly subsidized housing were tenants of that housing in 1981. Further, there was no apparent trend of a significant increase between 1974 and 1981 in the coverage of aged blacks who met the eligibility requirements for publicly subsidized tenants [see, e.g., Burke, 1984, Table 39, pp. 102-103; Table 42, pp. 108-109].

No reliable data exist about the extent to which aged blacks received the goods and services (e.g., social service, nutrition services for congregate and home-delivered meals, and multipurpose senior centers) to which they are entitled under the Older Americans Act of 1965, as amended (OAA) and Title XX of the Social Security Act of 1935, as amended.

For example, the conclusion of a study by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights [1982a, 1982b] that the service needs of aged blacks are insufficiently met by OAA is suspect. That is, the conclusion was based on inappropriate assumptions, insufficient sampling of applicable programs, and insufficient data about the perceptions of aged blacks themselves about their needs and the selection of rational means to satisfy those needs.

One highly inappropriate assumption of that study was based on a standard of proportional representation. For example, whenever the proportion of blacks in the aged population or in the aged poor population was higher than the proportion of users of OAA services in any one of the six sampled areas (none of which were in the South where most aged blacks live), they generally concluded that the black underutilization was due to racial barriers or insufficient OAA outreach. No data were presented, for instance, about the preferences of a representative sample of eligible blacks for congregate meals outside of their households. Instead the Commission [1982a, p. 161] reported that:

> ...the Commission staff was told by representatives of minority elderly that older minorities in the six geographic locations often felt that Older Americans Act programs were unresponsive to their needs and priorities. Generally, nutrition programs did not provide culturally appropriate meals or meals reflective of diverse cultures represented in the city. This contributed to the relatively low rate of participation by minority older persons, according to many representatives of minority organizations who serve the elderly.

A major difficulty with the above judgment is that its extension to include various minorities, including aged immigrants, may well overstate or understate the concerns of aged blacks. Further, the Commission staff apparently made no effort to determine the degree of congruence that existed between the representative of minority organizations and aged blacks themselves. This is obviously an important question that, if asked, could yield empirically useful data for shaping public policies about aged blacks.

The argument presented immediately above is not to deny the probable fact that many aged blacks do not receive their entitled services under OAA or Title XX, but merely to note that the existing data are too inconclusive to determine the proportions of aged blacks who underutilize, adequately utilize, or overutilize those services. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the argument made above, it is quite likely that many aged blacks who are entitled to and who want the services of OAA and Title XX do not receive them for reasons beyond their control.

A reasonable judgment about the criterion of whether all eligible blacks receive their entitled goods and services from federal programs for the aged is that most of them do so under the major income maintenance programs of OASI, SSI, Medicare, Medicaid, and food stamps. Each of these programs provides cash benefits directly to the aged beneficiaries or, on their behalf, to the providers of their health and food services. In contrast, for any number of different reasons, a substantial plurality of eligible aged blacks probably do not receive their entitled services under federal programs for the aged that do not provide cash benefits directly to the aged or cash reimbursements to the direct providers of services to them.

The second criterion of whether the delivery of the entitled goods and services is rational and efficient can be addressed in different ways. One useful way is to hypothesize about the rationality and effectiveness of the delivery of those goods and services and to list some of the problems that hamper their delivery.

Four factors influencing the rationality and effectiveness of that delivery are (1) the determination and application of eligibility standards; (2) the nature and method of payment for those goods and services; (3) the availability of the goods and services; and (4) the attitudes and behaviors of the service personnel.

A consideration of OASI, SSI, Medicare, Medicaid, and food stamps, subsidized housing, Title XX, and the OAA programs suggests strongly that the most rational and efficient delivery comes from OASI, SSI, and food stamps. The least rational and efficient delivery comes from subsidized housing, Title XX, and the OAA programs.

The receipt of OASI, SSI, and food stamps is based on federal standards of eligibility, where certification depends only on meeting certain standards. Further, certified blacks receive their benefits directly as long as they retain their eligibility.

Receiving Medicare and Medicaid, much more complicated, is less

rational and efficient. For example, although a person automatically qualifies for Medicare when he is 65 years of age, his actual use of Medicare depends on his ability to pay. For example, as of January 1, 1985, the Medicare deductible for hospitalized patients is $400. As of that date when a patient is hospitalized beyond 60 days, then between his 61st and 90th day of hospitalization, he is responsible for at least $100 per diem of his bill, rising to $200 per diem after his 90th day of hospitalization. Medicare also does not pay for prolonged stays in nursing homes.

The availability of Medicaid to supplement Medicare for poor aged blacks depends on state regulations and on the acceptance of Medicaid patients by health providers and hospitals. The common system of cash reimbursements to health providers or hospitals diminished any control by aged blacks over their receipt of health services.

The delivery of other federal goods and services is even less rational and efficient, owing in large measure to the application of local standards, the imposition of personal or primary group relationships, and the lack of monies to serve all eligible persons.

The extent to which entitled aged blacks experience problems in receiving their goods and services is not known, but without doubt, many have had problems.

The major problems with OASI could be easily eliminated. These problems typically include the absence of proof of age and the failure of SSA clerks to help their clients obtain that proof, initial delay in receiving OASI benefits, overpayment or underpayment by SSA of benefits, and theft of monthly checks.

In addition to the foregoing, as a matter of public policy, there are at least three major problems with OASI that affect aged blacks.

One problem is that treating all OASI benefits as taxable income under Public Law 98-21 can be double taxation. The Social Security payroll taxes were always also treated as taxable income. Thus, some workers paid taxes on that tax. OASI income should only be treated as taxable income when the beneficiaries have received back their taxes and the accrued interest. After that, since OASI beneficiaries then receive welfare payments, their OASI benefits should be treated as taxable income.

A second problem is that many blacks who are forced to pay Social Security taxes never benefit directly or indirectly from those taxes. The transformation of OASI into a social insurance program in line with its original intent and provisions would benefit most blacks and their heirs. (See, e.g., Jackson, 1968; Ferrara, 1980; Weaver, 1984).

A third problem is that the provisions of Public Law 98-21 to change the minimum age of eligibility for the receipt of full OASI benefits by primary beneficiaries from 65 to 66 years in 2009 and to 67 years in 2077 (see Svahan and Ross, 1983, for a comprehensive discussion of the legislative changes in OASI in 1983) will reduce further the receipt by blacks of OASI funds, either through death or through an economic need to receive

reduced funds before they are 66 or 67 years of age. This statute overlooks the distinctions between life expectancy and worklife expectancy values. Increased longevity does not mean that all persons can and want to extend their years of gainful employment (see, e.g., Sheppard, 1976; Weaver, 1984).

Two problems most often raised about the health statuses of aged blacks are whether their average health status and their access to health resources are as good as those of whites. The data are inconclusive, but in the past, the black health status was probably better than that of aged whites [Jackson, 1971, 1982]. The "survival of the fittest" was probably greater among blacks, largely because they had less access to health resources.

Recently, however, the increased black use of health resources, due partially to Medicare and Medicaid, has probably had the ironic effect of decreasing their overall health status and simultaneously increasing their longevity. Therefore, assuming increased racial equity in the use of health resources, the racial differences in morbidity and mortality rates should diminish further.

For example, greater racial similarity by health conditions or use of health resources is already apparent by the average number of total annual visits per person to physicians and the average length of stay in days in short-stay hospitals. The average number of visits per aged person to a physician in 1969 was 6.2 for whites and 5.1 for nonwhites, and, in 1981, 6.3 for whites and 6.8 for blacks. Also, in 1968-1969, the average length of stay in short-stay hospitals was 15.1 days for aged whites and 19.1 days for aged nonwhites, falling to 10.9 days for aged whites and 12.5 days for aged nonwhites in 1978 (National Center for Health Statistics, 1972, 1984a, 1984b). As of 1981, the average number of annual visits to physicians by aged blacks slightly exceeded that of aged whites. The white and nonwhite differences in the average length of hospital stay for aged discharges also diminished between 1968-1969 and 1978.

The rate for new pain visits by blacks of all ages to physicians in their offices was 60 per 1,000 in 1980 and 1981. (New pain visits occur when the pain and its associated morbidity are found in the patient for the first time by the attending physician.) The corresponding white rate of 67 per 1,000 was not significantly higher than the black rate (Knapp, 1984, p. 6).

Hardcore data about the problems of aged blacks with Medicare and Medicaid are generally unavailable. But paramount among the known or imputed problems are the following.

1. Many aged blacks, financially unable to pay the monthly premiums required for full participation in Medicare, are deprived of full coverage.

2. Many aged blacks who have Medicaid often find that health care providers refuse to accept Medicaid patients, or treat them as charitable patients.

3. Many aged blacks who need to be institutionalized for medical and other reasons cannot find affordable facilities.

4. Many noninstitutionalized aged blacks whose health prevents them from carrying out their activities of daily living cannot obtain the home health care, housekeeping aid, meal preparation, and other assistance that they need to maintain themselves adequately in their own residences. This problem is particularly severe for many aged black women who live alone.

Of especial concern now are the effects of the prospective Medicare payments based on diagnosis-related groups (DRGs) and the peer review on the quality of care to aged blacks who require hospitalization [see, e.g., Brinkley, 1984; Schramm, 1984]. The DRGs, "developed at the Yale School of Organization and Management, are [now] being used by the Health Care Financing Administration, some states, and some third party payors to reimburse hospitals for inpatient care" [Pokras, 1984, p. 1]. A diagnosis-related group is a set of primary diagnoses for which the in-patient costs of treatment should be similar after allowances are made for different labor costs in geographical regions. The use of DRGs was established for hospitals treating Medicare patients on or after October 1, 1983, depending upon the beginning of the next fiscal year for any given hospital.

The earlier system of Medicare reimbursement to hospitals involved retrospective payments with hospitals determining the costs of services and submitting their unresolved bills for reimbursement. The prospective payment system that uses DRGs provides a fixed payment amount. If the hospital costs are lower than the fixed amount, the hospital keeps the additional monies. When the hospital costs exceed that amount, no additional Medicare funds are forthcoming. The DRGs' incentives for cost-containment are not designed to lower the standard of care. The Health Care Financing Administration is monitoring the prospective payment system to detect any possible abuses and to offset them. For instance, a significant number of readmissions of previously discharged Medicare patients within a very short time period would trigger a review of a hospital's admission and readmission procedures with respect to Medicare patients.

The peer review organizations (PROs), which, under Public Law 98-21, were to have been in place by 15 November 1984, are "charged with assuring that inpatient hospital services and items for which payment may be made in part under Medicare are reasonable and medically necessary, conform to appropriate professional standards of quality and are delivered in the most efficient and economical mannner" (Health Care Financing Administration Fact Sheet, 1984, p. 1).

A systematic study is now needed to determine the positive or negative effects of the use of DRGs and peer review on the quality of health care received by aged blacks under the most recent statuatory and regulatory provisions of Medicare.

Another problem of import is that some aged blacks are unable to obtain newer forms of medical technology, such as kidney dialysis and heart and liver transplant. The availability of kidney dialysis may be a severe problem for some aged black women because a leading cause of their deaths

is chronic kidney disease. Renal diseases are more common among women then among men of all races, owing partially to conditions that arise out of their pregnancies (Nowlin, 1984).

The growing concern about the donation of organs from medically declared dead blacks has not been accompanied by as much concern about the donation of organs to living blacks. The work of the task force that was recently established by the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to make implemetative recommendations about the National Organ Transplant Act of 1984 should be monitored to make certain that the needs of poor blacks of all ages for donative organs are not overlooked.

But the medical improvements that prolong life create financial and ethical problems for our society. For example, how should and how will the federal government allocate monies when their use will determine who will live and who will die? How will aged blacks or the poor of all ages fare under the statutory and regulatory provisions that effect the receipt of donated organs?

But improvements that prolong life create financial and moral problems for our society. For example, how should and how will our federal government allocate monies when their use will determine who will live and who will die? How will aged blacks or the poor of all ages fare under the statuatory and regulatory provisions that affect the receipt of donated organs.

The problems that affect the delivery of subsidized housing and OAA services have already been enumerated or suggested above. They include, the insufficient resources, the inconvenient location of available resources, and inadequate fits between the proffered and desired services.

The Administration on Aging and the National Institute on Aging have increased considerably black participation in their aging research and training programs during the past few years. However, because most of the research grants to black investigators require only data, the results are generally useless about the age changes of blacks.

For example, these studies have never focused on the necrobiosis of aging blacks (the process of decay and death of body cells) or on the longitudinal effects of their retirement and widowhood on their social statuses and roles.

The limited research about black participation in OAA or Title XX programs typically ignores institutional barrier to that participation. Simple citations of the racial composition of the staff or clients of those programs is grossly inefficient. When statistically significant disparities are found by the agency staff and clients there is no follow-up by the researchers to determine the causes of the statistical disparities by race.

Most of the aging training grants to colleges and universities have not been for graduates or professionals. Yet, given the nature of the job market, who could most profit from such training, assuming their interest in the aged, are blacks who are professionally competent and

certified to deliver direct or indirect services to the aged that are solely dependent on their gerontological or geriatric training. For example, blacks who want to be chief administrators of skilled nursing homes also need good management skills, preferbaly through public administrations, business administration, or prior managerial experience.

The Administration on Aging and the National Institute on Aging should be encouraged to fund research and training grants to blacks that will increase the number of blacks professionals who can help the aged of any race, and who can provide needed research data about aging.

My answer to the third criterion of whether the goods and services aged blacks now receive meet their societal needs can be answered briefly and concisely: no. The demographic data show that many aged blacks are still mired in poverty, in part because they were unduly victimized by racism in their younger years.

A reasonable response to this criterion should, however, be based on a thorough and comprehensive study of the gaps between the federal benefits aged blacks receive and those that they ought to receive.

B. Racial Issues

Many racial issues have been raised about the merits and deficiencies of federal programs for aged blacks. [see, e.g., White House Conference on the Aging, 1972; Jackson, 1980, 1983]. Four of those issues are whether:

1. the social conditions of aged blacks are sufficiently similar to those of other aged minorities to justify merely lumping them under the category of aged minorities;

2. the provisions of federal programs for the aged, such as OASI and OAA, should be racially neutral or racially preferential;

3. the most efficient delivery of health and social services (including meals and multipurpose centers for senior citizens) occurs when the service providers are also black; and

4. blacks are always the best advocates for federal programs for aged blacks.

The resolution of these issues depends greatly on value judgments, but, in my opinion, aged blacks should not be lumped indiscriminately with other aged minorities. All current federal programs for the aged that provide cash and non-cash benefits should be racially neutral, but means-tested.

Racial resegregation or continued racial segregation is a most serious problem to be avoided in the delivery of goods and services to aged blacks. Decisions about this issue, for example, should not be based on racial or ethnic similarity. Persons who want to eat with other persons or who need subsidized food services in congregate settings must them-

selves determine if they want those services or if they want to reject those services on the basis of their racial prejudices. If they reject those services, let them suffer the consequences. The greater obligation of the federal government and its authorized agents is to promote racial equality in all settings under their control.

The credentials of black and white self-appointed advocates for aged blacks who try to shape public policies should always be scrutinized carefully by governmental agents responsible for creating public policies.

Many of these lobbyists do not speak for aged blacks and know too little or care too little about aged blacks to speak for them. Also, the most effective advocates for aged blacks today must also balance the needs of younger and older persons. For example, the recent opposition by the National Caucus and Center on Black Aged, Inc. to the President's proposed cuts or spending freezes in Medicare and Medicaid (Marriott, 1984) does not consider fairly the income needs of younger persons or the adverse possibilities of increasing the welfare dependence of the aged. For example, continued increases in Medicare costs at the expense of younger workers could be conflicting (see e.g., Schramm, 1984). Single-interest groups focusing on the aged must consider the income needs of younger persons.

"Robbing Peter to pay Paul" could induce more economic conflict and friction between younger and older adults. For example, "The numerical growth of persons who come to know the OASI now is largely a welfare program and who are vexed by increasing Social Security payroll taxes, could foster greater negativism about OASI" (Jackson and Weaver, 1984, pp. 5-6). Thus, in light of the numerical and proportionate growth of the aged and their tendency toward early retirement, organizations focusing solely on the aged should remember that the future of the United States also depends (and perhaps more so) on the economic well-being of its younger members.

C. Recommendations for Federal Program

The following recommendations about federal programs for aged blacks are grouped by (1) needed research, (2) income maintenance and support programs, and (3) service delivery. These overlapping recommendations, based on demographic and other applicable findings and opinions, complement the recommendations that were already given above.

1. Research

The research needed to determine the effects of federal policies on aged blacks and their needed modifications include the following kinds of comprehensive and systematic studies.

A. Research is needed to determine the gaps between the number of aged blacks who are entitled to and who actually receive federal goods and services. Whenever any significant gaps appear, causal research is needed to explain them.

B. Evaluative research is needed to determine the rationality and efficiency of the delivery of federal goods and services to aged blacks and to determine the variables that most affect that delivery. The investigative question should include the effect of racial differences between the providers and recipients of services on the delivery of services.

C. Research is needed to determine, to project, and to plan for the social needs of aged blacks between now and 2000. For example, the increasing longevity of poor black women means that many of them, when old, will probably need subsidized housing.

D. Research is needed to determine the existing inequities between the race-sex groups by their Social Security taxes and their Social Security benefits, specifically OASI and Medicare. Perhaps some initial data could come from the SSA 1982 New Beneficiary Study, supplemented by SSA records about the total amount of Social Security taxes paid by the recipients up to the point of their beneficiary status.

E. A combined research design of cross-sectional, cross-sequential, longitudinal, and longitudinal-sequential study is needed to investigate the interactive patterns and processes of biological, psychological, and social aging among black adults. For example, one purpose of the comprehensive study could be to describe and analyze the changes in the social statuses and roles of older black women and the factors that affect those changes. It should not be assumed, however, that generational, geographic, and economic changes have diluted the traditional roles of older blacks. Concrete data must be presented about those "traditional roles" and whether their dilution, if any, increases the likelihood of successful adaptation to aging. Some years ago, I observed that the significant decline of older black female domestics who had worked for the same family for many years had led to a decline in the number of older black women who were able to help their daughters find domestic employment. Also, the availability of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and the availability of abortions to female minors without parental consent have probably changed somewhat the economic and helping relationships between black mothers, their daughters, and their grandchildren. But, for example, if older black women are now less involved in rearing their grandchildren, it should not be assumed that the dilution of this role is disadvantageous for older black women. Also, more research is needed about intrafamilial stresses and strains that occur in families with aged members (see, e.g., Cazenave, 1979).

F. The sample sizes of older blacks who are included in most of the applicable surveys of the U.S. Bureau of the Census (e.g., SIPP), the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the National Center for Health Statistics (e.g., the household interview survey), and the Social Security Administration are often too small to provide valid and reliable data about aged blacks and their various subgroups. Some national surveys have oversampled older blacks [e.g., Harris and Associates, 1981]. But "sampling blacks as a separate population [could] increase the likelihood of better data with more reliable estimates" and especially so "whenever investigations are predicated on substantial racial differences, or when the need is present to determine if racial differences exist." [Jackson, 1981,

pp. 51-52]. For example, baseline data are now needed to help determine the effects of payment changes and cutbacks in Medicare and Medicaid on the health services received by aged blacks. Follow-up studies could examine a variety of variables, including the trends of admission and readmission rates for short-stay hospitals and the effects of the growing use of pro- prietary hospitals by some patients on the hospital care received by the poor in nonproprietary hospitals.

G. All of the major federal programs for the aged should be required to collect applicant and benficiary data by race, sex, age, and geographical location. These data should be published annually and scrutinized carefully to determine if eligible blacks are receiving a reasonable share of their benefits. (This position, however, is incongruent with that of the National Urban League, which does not support any requirement for racial identification on application forms for federal programs.)

2. Income Maintenance and Support Programs

Most recommendations about income maintenance and support programs involve value judgments. With that caveat in mind, the following recommendations are suggested for careful consideration.

A. OASI should be transformed into a social insurance program in line with the original intent of the Social Security Act of 1935. Then any vested benefits remaining in an account after the death of the primary beneficiary should to his estate (see, e.g., Ferrara, 1980).

B. The monthly payments under SSI should be sufficient to raise the total cash money income of the recipients to at least 80% of the poverty level.

C. The federal government should increase greatly the availability of subsidized housing to needy aged blacks, partially through increased funding or outreach to black organizations.

D. Medicare and Medicaid should be combined into a single means tested program based only on federal standards. Some consideration could also be given to developing "Senior Citizens' Administration Hospitals" following the model of the most competent Veterans Administration Hospitals, so as to promote adequate health care to the aged through a more efficient and less expensive delivery mode. Also, all military veterans who are currently eligible for federal services should never be denied access to those services, including free care at hospitals operated by the Veterans Administration, even if the delivery of those services exceeds the earlier anticipated costs.

E. Medicare and Medicaid services, combined or separated, should cover the total costs of necessary health services to the aged poor, including their medications, eyeglasses, hearing aids and the like and their necessary use of home health aides or skilled nursing facilities.

3. Service Delivery.

In addition to the related recommendations made above, the rational and efficient delivery of services to needy aged blacks could be improved through:

A. the increased gerontological and geriatric training of black professionals who are interested in delivering services to the aged and by the increased training of non-black professionals to be sensitive to the need to avoid racial discrimination, or the appearance thereof, when they deal with aged blacks;

B. the definite need to avoid confusion between the specific needs of aged blacks and of other aged minorities whenever the extension of such programs dilutes the needs of aged blacks; and

C. the increased federal funding of reputable black organizations, including churches, to provide services to aged blacks under the provisions of the Older Americans Act of 1965, so that the problems that are encountered by local black organizations in dealing with area agencies on aging can be avoided. Such a procedure should continue until it is clearly established that the area agencies on aging do not discriminate against aged blacks.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Inasmuch as aged blacks are now or ought to be a social problem in the United States, the three major purposes of this essay about aged blacks in the United States were to determine the applicability of perceiving them as being doubly jeopardized by their race and age, to describe their demographic patterns or trends, and to evaluate the efficacy of federal programs for the aged for them.

The perception of aged blacks as being doubly jeopardized by their race and age requires the assumption that, except for racism, there would be no statistically significant differences in the demographic patterns of aged blacks and whites. For example, similar proportions of aged blacks and whites would be poor. One problem with that assumption is that its attribution of racism as the cause of all the demographic differences between aged blacks and whites.

The gerontological use of the concept of double jeopardy is extremely limited, largely because its theoretical use does not yield relevant data about the age changes of adults blacks. However, double jeopardy is particularly valuable as a political concept because it helps to define the population of aged blacks as a social problem that requires federal intervention to improve its well-being, thereby enchancing the probability of successful adaptation to old age for blacks who become old. Therefore, interested parties who advocate publicly for aged blacks should continue to emphasize the fact that many blacks who are now old and poor and in need of subsidized services would undoubtedly have been old and economically independent but for the harsh effects of racism they encountered throughout their lives. The federal government should be obligated to

compensate needy aged blacks between now and at least 2029.

The recent demographic trends of aged blacks are similar in kind, but generally not in degree to those of aged whites. They suggest that their numerical increases during the next few decades will be accompanied by increasing longevity, female excessiveness, and living alone. Their slowly rising educational levels will probably not be accompanied by increased labor force participation rates and lower unemployment rates. The poverty rates of aged blacks will not diminish greatly during the rest of this century, assuming that mortality improvement (due partially to greater morbidity with the prolongation of death) continues among them.

The demographic trends suggest that, at least between now and 1999, many aged blacks will be eligible for and in need of federally subsidized goods and services. The sparse data now available about the efficacy of federal programs for aged blacks prohibit definitive conclusions about needed modifications in public policies for aged blacks. Nevertheless, some recommendations were made about how modifications in public policies for the aged could improve the well-being of aged blacks. These recommendations were in line with Viscusi's (1979, p. 17) contention that "the most important statistical indicator of any group's economic well-being is its economic level."

This re-examination of the double jeopardy of aged black Americans suggests that their current social status is quite heterogeneous, but that far too many of them are poor, too dependent on federal subsidies, and too powerless to act politically on their own behalf. Also, despite contrary and undocumented claims, the availability of federal goods and services to aged blacks has not decreased substantially since 1981. The aged of all races, however, should be aware of the changes in public policies for the aged that are necessitated not so much by the prevailing philosophies of a federal administration, but by population changes. My recommendations were based on my belief that age alone is an insufficient criterion for the federal distribution of income, and that all federal programs for the aged should either be true social insurance programs or means-tested programs.

In conclusion, this re-examination of the double jeopardy of aged blacks should end with an emphasis on the need for the aggregation of more information about the aging of black adults and the better development and implementation of public policies for them based on those aggregated data. This is because we believe that the tragedy never to be repeated again is the tragedy of racism, so that subsequent generations of aged blacks will never be doubly jeopardized by their race and age. The federal government is obligated to become a more effective partner in this endeavor.

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I also acknowledge the help of my mother, Beulah C. Johnson of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama (now 75 years old), who, as of this writing, is the Chairman of the Macon County (Alabama) Department of Pensions and Security (the welfare board) and the Vice-President of the Alabama Association of Department of Pensions and Security Boards, and who remains a shining example of aged blacks who, in their earlier years, prepared well for their financial security in their later years.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Dr. Samuel L. Adams in his essay, "Blackening in Media: The State of the Black Press" recalled a quotation from Rev. Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm in 1627 when they editorialized on why they were beginning the nation's first black newspaper.

"We wish to plead our own cause. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations in things which concern us dearly". These words serve us well as we conclude this annual report to the American people, for the foregoing essays have presented a black perspective on a number of issues of importance to Black America. And any understanding of Black America has to begin by listening to its voices.

The authors have not glossed over the severe difficulties facing many black Americans, but at the same time we have been conscious of the generally optimistic view they take of the future. By no stretch of the imagination have they indicated that the problems will disappear in the next decade or so, but they see encouraging signs on the horizon that blacks are not settling for the status quo.

For example, in his essay. "Modern Technology and Urban Schools", Dr. Robert E. Fullilove, III examines the growing importance of computer literacy in today's world and beyond. He expresses concern that the uses to which computers are being put in minority urban schools are not necessarily those which will enable the students to find successful careers in an age in which technology is king. Still, he cites several examples of special programs in math and related subjects that by challenging minorities to excel, instead of accepting the all too common fallacy that they cannot cope with difficult subjects, have had remarkable records of success.

When Dr. James D. McGhee, in his essay "The Black Family, Today and Tomorrow," looks at the difficulties faced by black children as they grow to adulthood, and the tremendous stresses and strains that tear so many black families apart, he sounds a justifiable note of alarm. Then he looks beyond and sees programs such as Adopt-A-Family that are working and are making a difference.

These are not isolated examples, and perhaps this helps explain why we are more optimistic now, then at any other point during this ten year series. It would have been easier in the struggle of black people to secure equity if the national government had remained committed to the completion of the Second Reconstruction, if some of our former allies had not gone off in other directions, or if a number of our alliances had not weakened over philosophical differences. But what is past, is past and in our opinion, Black America, bolstered by a surge of confidence in its own ability to stay the course, is moving ahead.

These positive signs, however, cannot obliterate the inescapable fact that racial polarization and black alienation from the majority society increased in 1984. Difficult economic times and the fear they strike in the hearts of people concerned only about their own survival and resent-

ful of anyone who seems to be standing in their way or getting some perceived special treatment have been factors. But not to be overlooked is the widely held perception that the present Administration does not care about the hopes and aspirations of black people.

Theodore Roosevelt once called the Presidency a "bully pulpit"...and so it is. The President has a great deal to do with setting the moral tone of the country but this President has chosen not to speak out for racial fairness and justice. This has been a mistake and history will so record it.

However, in his second and final term in office, without the need to placate the most radical of the radical right, he has the opportunity to change this perception of being uncaring and cool to the plight of blacks and other minorities and the poor, and even more important, to help reduce the polarization and diminish the alienation.

As a first step, he could make it clear to Administration officials that they must cool down their rhetoric. Some of these officials have engaged in the vilification of black leaders who reflect the opinions of their constituencies suggesting that they (the leaders) are speaking only for themselves, and then with some ulterior motive. Others have been polarizing influences through their refusal to enforce civil rights laws.

And at least one has gone so far as to suggest that since blacks did not vote for Mr. Reagan, perhaps they should not expect him to do anything on their behalf. Our response to that is that Mr. Reagan was elected President of all the people and not just the 59% who voted for him.

Another positive approach would be for the White House to open channels of communications with blacks. This is the first Administration in many years in which the President and his key staff have not had regular contacts with representative black leadership, and in fact have seemed to shun such contact.

Finally, the Administration has shown little interest in working closely with the voluntary sector. Therefore there is an urgent need to convene a White House Conference of agencies that deal with America's jobless, homeless, and hungry to determine how current and future federal programs can be improved through closer partnership with the voluntary sector.

The task of halting racial polarization, however, must involve much more than the White House providing leadership, even as important as that is. It requires the commitment of leadership at every level in both the white and black community, and it is a task that requires the highest priority. The National Urban League's recommendations follow:

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Social and human service programs have already been cut far more

than is fair or reasonable. There is more than ample evidence available to show that these cuts have caused pain and suffering to the poor and disadvantaged. Therefore the Congress should resist any effort by the Administration to cut these programs any further and instead should increase funding to the FY 82 level.

2. Defense spending must assume its share of the belt-tightening to which every other area of the budget has been subjected.

3. A Universal Employment and Training System should be established that would guarantee the unemployed productive work and the skills training necessary to obtain and hold a job. Such a system would be a joint public-private effort, it would include rebuilding the decaying infrastructure of the nation such as its roads, bridges, rail systems and ports, as well as improving public services. The system would train the unskilled and the unemployed and retrain displaced workers for jobs in growth industries.

4. Congress should amend the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978 to assist blacks in achieving parity in employment with whites.

5. Congress should immediately expand the Job Training Partnership Act for training and career development programs whereby employment opportunities are made available to the long-term unemployed, especially in the areas of the highest unemployment. Further, JTPA must be closely monitored to ensure that its purposes are met.

6. The Federal government must not abdicate its responsibility to provide job opportunities, particularly for our young people. The Community Renewal Act, American Conversation Corp, and/or Youth Incentive Employment Act would be important first steps in this endeavor.

7. The Federal government's appeal to the private sector to assume more of its responsibilities must be more diligently heeded. In particular, businesses should be encouraged to develop creative approaches and programs for training and hiring the unemployed.

8. The Legal Services Corporation should be maintained and only those who demonstrate a firm commitment to administering legal services to the poor should be confirmed by Congress as board members.

9. The proposed Civil Rights Act of 1984 should be reintroduced and passed in this session of Congress immediately to restore the broad coverage and protection embodied in Title VI, Title IX, Section 504, and the Age Discrimination Act.

10. A bipartisan joint committee of the House and Senate should be created to exercise oversight for all social service and human resources programs to assure that they fulfill the purposes for which they were formulated, that they are administered fairly, and that they are adequately funded. Creation of such a committee is justified by the changing nature of the American economy, the inability of states to meet the needs of their people through limited block grant funds and state resources, and

than is fair or reasonable. There is more than ample evidence available to show that these cuts have caused pain and suffering to the poor and disadvantaged. Therefore the Congress should resist any effort by the Administration to cut these programs any further and instead should increase funding to the FY 82 level.

2. Defense spending must assume its share of the belt-tightening to which every other area of the budget has been subjected.

3. A Universal Employment and Training System should be established that would guarantee the unemployed productive work and the skills training necessary to obtain and hold a job. Such a system would be a joint public-private effort, it would include rebuilding the decaying infrastructure of the nation such as its roads, bridges, rail systems and ports, as well as improving public services. The system would train the unskilled and the unemployed and retrain displaced workers for jobs in growth industries.

4. Congress should amend the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1978 to assist blacks in achieving parity in employment with whites.

5. Congress should immediately expand the Job Training Partnership Act for training and career development programs whereby employment opportunities are made available to the long-term unemployed, especially in the areas of the highest unemployment. Further, JTPA must be closely monitored to ensure that its purposes are met.

6. The Federal government must not abdicate its responsibility to provide job opportunities, particularly for our young people. The Community Renewal Act, American Conversation Corp, and/or Youth Incentive Employment Act would be important first steps in this endeavor.

7. The Federal government's appeal to the private sector to assume more of its responsibilities must be more diligently heeded. In particular, businesses should be encouraged to develop creative approaches and programs for training and hiring the unemployed.

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the increased number of displaced, discouraged, homeless and poor persons not being caught in "the safety net" -- all of which bring new dimensions to the plight of the poor and disadvantaged.

11. The nation's welfare system, which varies from state to state, should be federalized through national funding which would assure that financial assistance, including food stamps, would bring families to at least the poverty level. Social services programs such as food stamps, school lunches and others that serve the poor and disadvantaged should be funded at adequate levels.

12. Increased funding for a variety of youth focused and family support programs is necessary in an era of family dissonance. Prevention programs, including recreation, child care, vocational and health-related initiatives are needed to combat many of the problems which confront minority youth, including teenage pregnancy. Partnerships between community-based organizations and the federal government should be developed and used to implement such initiatives.

13. In fashioning proposals to reform the present tax system, the needs of the poor should be paramount. In particular, those unable to meet their basic human needs should not be taxed, the earned income tax credit should be expanded, and regressive taxes (such as the Value Added Tax) must be rejected.

14. A comprehensive program for economic development for our inner-cities along the lines of that envisioned in enterprise zones legislation, must be initiated in order to rebuild the infrastructure of our communities. Components of such an effort should include small business assistance, targeted investment and housing rehabilitation.

15. The passage and signing of PL 98-377 (Math and Science Education Act) in 1984 was a positive effort to improve math and science instruction so critical in our high technological society. However, more must be done to address the special needs of low income and minority students.

16. A long term and consistent program for federal support for historically black colleges should be included in the 1985 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. In addition, Congress should make a commitment to increase federal financial assistance to students with limited resources who are attending institutions of higher learning.

17. Legislation to grant tuition tax credits to parents whose children attend private schools should be opposed, regardless of antidiscrimination provisions, because they (tuition tax credits) will lead to further abandonment and under-financing of the public schools.

18. The principles of affirmative action should continue to be applied at both the state and federal levels, and there should be no retrenchment in their enforcement. This means that qualified minority applicants should be actively sought for job openings in every sector of the economy.

19. The government should abandon its policy of "constructive

engagement" toward the Union of South Africa. The policy has not worked and in the absence of outside pressures, South Africa's leaders have solidified their racist system. The government should pursue policies that reward progress and punish excesses. This would include voting in the United Nations to condemn outrages, embargoes on military sensitive materials, and sanctions on new investments, among other steps.

20. Black institutions and organizations, collaboratively and singularly, must continue and expand initiatives which enhance black families and communities. Recommendations from the Black Family Summit should serve as a framework for local actions to support the viability of black families, particularly in such critical areas as teenage pregnancy, single female heads of household, education and crime. For example, black organizations and institutions should: sponsor youth groups to assist in preparing young people for competent and productive adulthood; provide education, supervision and support services for children of working parents, particularly single female heads of household; and plan and implement programs which prevent crime in black communities.

21. More attention should be paid by the media to those many self-help activities that are now going on within Black America as an antidote to the myth that the black community is complacement about its problems. Black organizations and institutions must demand that mass media portray more positive images of black Americans.

22. Given the fact that computer literacy is and will continue to be a major prerequisite for the success of students, business, community organizations, and parents have an integral role to play. Business, in partnership with schools and parents, must interact in the development of appropriate curricula (such as the Urban League Academies approach), which serve to prepare students for technology and growth industries of the future. Community organizations must be actively engaged in parental education programs and other public information/advocacy activities concerning the appropriate utilization of computers in public education. The empowerment of black parents to have active involvement in local education decisions should be a major goal.

23. If the tremendously high unemployment level in the black community is ever to be reduced, then the private sector, where most of the jobs are, must insure that black workers get their fair share of jobs through increased affirmative action hiring and promotion, through a new emphasis on training the unskilled, and through a serious commitment to hire and train disadvantaged young people.

24. Recognizing that the traditional alliance between blacks and Jews has come under strain for a number of reasons, blacks and Jews must heal their divisions by joining together to combat the social evils in our society as they once joined together to work for the defeat of segregation and racism.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1984*

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Jan.1: The Supreme Court rejects the Reagan Administration's argument that the provisions of a voluntary promotion plan for black officers in the Detroit Police Department are unconstitutional. The high court upholds an appeals court decision sanctioning the plan dictating that for every white officer promoted to the rank of lieutenant, a black officer is to also be promoted, until blacks constitute 50% of all lieutenants.

Feb. 1: U. S. Department of Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole announces that minority businesses received 9.83% of the monies for federally funded highway projects in fiscal 1983. The percentage is close to the nationwide goal of 10% set by Congress. Dole says that the black firms were awarded $720 million worth of work, amounting to a 209% increase in minority contracts during the first three years of the Reagan Administration.

Feb. 8: David Slate, general counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, charges that thousands of cases have been handled improperly and closed prematurely because of a rules change designed to reduce the agency's backlog of cases. According to Slate, in a Jan. 20 memo, requiring an account of the time EEOC lawyers and investigators spend on cases is unfair and significantly curtails the agency's law enforcement and trial court litigation efforts. Chairman Clarence Thomas says the new plan, replacing quota requirements for 22 district offices, encourages the expeditious review of cases to determine their worth for litigation.

Feb. 21: Black welfare workers for the Cook County Department of Public Aid in Illinois win a ten-year-old suit alleging discriminatory employment practices and may collect at least $15 million in back pay. The court-ordered financial award will be divided among 700 to 1000 black present or past employees. Individual payments could reach as high as $40,000. The judgment determines that blacks were given lower job classifications and paid lower salaries than whites performing the same jobs in state and county public aid offices.

March 4: The Justice Department joins a suit by white firefighters and police officers in Birmingham, Ala. challenging departmental hiring and promotion plans for blacks and women that it approved three years ago. The complainants allege that less qualified blacks and women have been hired to meet numerical quotas and that they are in turn, victims of racial and sexual discrimination. The Justice Department contends that if the allegations

*This chronology is based on news reports. In some instances the event might have occurred a day before the news item appeared.

of the white employees are true, then the plans mandated in court by consent decree are unlawful.

March 6: In a brief filed in the Federal Appeals Court in Atlanta, the Justice Department challenges a set-aside program for minority contractors devised by the local government in Dade County, Fla. The program is designed to award a portion of the county's contracts to black businesses at a level commensurate with blacks' 17% representation in the city's population. It is created after a finding that less than 1% of county contracts have been awarded to black businesses, in an investigation into the factors contributing to the Liberty City riots of 1980.

March 30: In Baltimore, U.S. District Court Judge Norman Ramsey rejects the racial discrimination lawsuit brought by black managers and professionals of IBM's Maryland data processing offices. Judge Ramsey rules that they have failed to prove a company pattern of adverse treatment based upon race. The judgement is reached a year after a long trial in which the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission attempted to show that some 200 black employees' salaries and promotions fell behind those of comparably qualified whites because of racially prejudiced performance appraisals.

April 10: According to a Wall St. Journal report, the percentage of federal contract money awarded to minority businesses has actually declined for two consecutive years. In 1981, minority firms received 3.4% of all federal contract money. However, in 1982 that figure dropped to 3.2% and to 3.1% in 1983. Thomas Trimboli, legislative counsel to the House Small Business Committee says, "When you're talking billions of dollars, a drop of 0.1% is big."

April 11: The Los Angeles chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People begins a limited boycott of McDonald's (the fast food chain) charging that it discriminates against blacks in the sale of franchises and in purchasing supplies. Donald Fields, economic development director of the branch, warns that the boycott will be extended region by region until it becomes nationwide unless the NAACP can reach some sort of agreement with McDonald's mangement.

April 12: Reginald Webb, vice president of southern California operations for the McDonald's Corp., calls the NAACP boycott of the company over allegations of racial discrimination unfair. Webb asserts that 8% of all McDonald's franchise owners are black and that the restaurant chain has "nothing to apologize for" adding that "There isn't a more successful group of black entrepreneurs in America."

April 26: Douglas Bielan, director of public sector programs for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, announces a proposal to centralize all federal investigations of discrimination cases within the agency. In the past, such investigations have been handled by special staffs in individual federal agencies, which sometimes "contract out" or turn the cases over to private firms to

handle. Bielan says the proposal, in the form of draft regulations, is designed to discourage that practice because most agencies lack a mechanism for quality control.

May 3: Birmingham's Mayor Richard Arrington and plaintiffs in an employment discrimination suit against the city, petition the court to order the Justice Department to enforce a consent decree approved by the department or to be held in contempt. Mayor Arrington charges that the lack of federal enforcement has created havoc in city employment and has resulted in no fewer than five lawsuits filed by white males alleging reverse discrimination. The hiring plan in question, is one approved by the department in 1981, which includes numerical goals for blacks and women. The Justice Department has joined two of those suits. A spokesman for Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, head of the department's Civil Rights Division, says that it stands by the consent decree and will continue monitoring the city's employment decisions under it.

May 15: Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, in a speech to the Associated General Contractors of America, says that the Reagan Administration will continue to challenge state and local set-aside programs for minority contractors. Reynolds predicts that the issue will ultimately be settled by the Supreme Court. The Justice Department has been rebuffed by a federal appeals court in its attempt to overturn such a program in Dade County, Fla., in a suit brought by the contractor's group which it joined.

May 28: Acknowledging an "extreme underrepresentation" of minorities in the broadcast industry, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upholds the legality of using race as a factor in the awarding of broadcast licenses to applicants. The court's 3-0 ruling makes it possible for the Federal Communications Commission to consider race when choosing between two similarly qualified candidates of different races. The decision also supports an earlier FCC ruling in which it awarded a license to a black applicant in preference to a white.

June 13: The Supreme Court, in a 6-3 vote, rules that white workers with seniority may not be laid off their jobs to preserve the jobs of recently hired blacks or affirmative action gains, when company layoffs become necessary. The decision invalidates a U.S. District Court order that sought to prevent the layoffs of black firefighters in Memphis by laying off three senior whites instead. The high court held that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits court intervention in "legitimate" seniority systems. Justice Harry Blackmun, William Brennan, Jr. and Thurgood Marshall all dissent contending that race conscious relief is permissible under Title VII.

June 14: Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds announces that the Justice Department will begin a reexamination of all federal anti-discrimination settlements. The announcement fol-

lows the Supreme Court's ruling upholding seniority systems over affirmative action plans in job layoffs. In addition, Reynolds says he will advise the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Labor Depatment's Office of Federal Contract Compliance not to negotiate any new agreements using numerical employment quotas. According to civil rights lawyers, at stake are 50 major affirmative-action agreements.

June 29: President Reagan grants "disadvantaged" status to Hasidic Jews in the United States. The action enables them to qualify for government set-aside programs for minority businesses and makes them eligible for federal assistance in the establishment and operation of businesses. Groups granted "disadvantaged" status are those considered by the government to have suffered severe economic problems because of discrimination.

July 17: Citing the Supreme Court ruling against layoffs of senior workers in favor of recently hired minorities, the Justice Department files suit against an Alabama state police promotion plan for blacks. Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds says the plan, which requires one black to be promoted for each white promoted, amounts to a racial quota barred by the court's ruling. The promotion plan had been ordered by U.S. District Judge Myron Thompson who noted that there were only four black corporals on the force and no black sergeants, lieutenants, captains or majors. The suit filed in the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta, is a reversal of the department's original stance which supported the case of the black state troopers.

July 26: Eight hundred black police officers laid off their jobs in 1979 and 1980 in Detroit, are reinstated with retroactive seniority by U.S. District Court Judge Horace Gilmore. Earlier, Judge Gilmore found the layoffs mandated by Mayor Coleman Young and agreed to by the Detroit Police Officers Association (the police union), to be illegal. He charges the union with having "breached its duty of fair representation," and directs it to establish blacks in leadership positions within the next year. In addition, Judge Gilmore says that 300 whites who were laid off during the same period and who may have seniority over the recalled blacks may petition the court individually to appeal their dismissal.

Aug. 9: Finally reaching agreement with the Justice Department after a ten-year-old dispute, the state of Georgia proposes a plan to hire more blacks and women and to set up a $1.9 million relief fund for settling discrimination complaints. The financial settlement is the second largest reached by the U.S. government with a public employer. Provisions of the agreement require that 243 future job slots for four state agencies be filled by blacks and women. The new employment opportunities will be in the areas of law enforcement, transportation and forestry.

Aug. 9: Three federal agencies refuse to file yearly reports on the progress of their efforts to hire more minorities and women as re-

quested by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Justice Department is the first to refuse to comply with the requirement followed by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Federal Trade Commission. All cite their opposition to the requirement because of its focus on affirmative action goals and timetables.

Aug. 22: Representative Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.) says the Justice Department, the Federal Trade Commission and the National Endowment for the Humanities are violating the law by refusing to submit reports to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on their hiring goals for minorities and women. As head of the House subcommittee that oversees the government's equal opportunity practices, Rep. Collins says she is drafting a bill which will withhold funds from any agency openly disregarding the EEOC directive. Clarence Thomas, chairman of the commission, favors Rep. Collins' bill.

Aug. 22: The Prudential Insurance Co. of America and the federal government reach an agreement to make job-skills training available to minority applicants rejected for employment by the company between 1978 and 1983. Under the agreement, negotiated by the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance, 8,000-9,000 minorities will be trained, with the company hiring a portion of those successfully completing the program. Prudential estimates that the cost for complying with the agreement will be $3 million. The company is not charged with practicing discrimination and does not admit to it.

Sept. 19: The National Black Economic Development Coalition wins a $325 million agreement with the Adolph Coors Company to expand opportunities for black employees and to increase its trade with a wide range of black businesses. The provisions of the company's five-year plan are the recruitment of blacks for employment, increased promotional opportunities for blacks, and greater involvement of blacks in policy formation. The brewery also agrees to increase the number of black Coors distributorships, setting a goal of 20, and pledges to provide them capital assistance. The agreement is reached after six months of negotiations between Coors and the coalition, whose black member organizations are the NAACP, Operation PUSH, the National Newspaper Publishers Association, Cal-Pack (California Liquor and Package Goods Dealers) and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (the fifth district covering western states).

Oct. 18: The General Accounting Office is found to have intentionally discriminated against black employees through its Competitive Selection Process (the office's promotion system) from 1976 to 1983. Chester F. Relyea, an examiner for the Equal Employment Opportunity commission, has ordered the GAO to award promotions, back pay and attorneys' fees to some 250 blacks who worked there from 1978 to 1983 as evaluators or at the GS 12 to 14 salary levels. In addition, Relyea has ordered an evaluation of the current promotion system to determine whether it is discriminatory.

Oct. 25: Clarence Thomas, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, charges that black leaders are "watching the destruction of our race," and are failing to work with the Reagan Administration to solve black problems. He accuses black leaders of costing black Americans access to the presidency and says it's a shame that the only group almost unanimously in Mondale's corner is blacks. Thomas says that black leaders have neither contacted nor met with him, as have other ethnic and special interest groups, to work on ways to reshape administration policies.

Nov. 15: The Justice Department files suit against the San Francisco Fire Department charging that it has discriminated against blacks, Hispanics and Asians in hiring. The suit says that while blacks make up 12.7%, their numbers are not reflected in the city's firefighting force of 1,742 men. The Justice Department suit asks the court to award minorities rejected because of their race retroactive seniority and back pay. It also asks the court to order the fire department to implement a recruitment program to attract qualified minorities and to make job offers.

Dec. 3: The Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures are being reviewed by federal agencies to determine whether they are effective in detecting employment discrimination. Civil rights groups support them. Both groups believe changes will make it easier to defend the proportion of minorities and women in a company's workforce. Clarence Thomas, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has expressed reservations over the guidelines, which he says rely too heavily on "statistical disparities" as evidence of discrimination. The EEOC has authority to change them without action from Congress.

Dec. 13: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit rules that Detroit's affirmative action hiring and promotion plan is a legal remedy to redress over a century of racial discrimination. The court's unanimous decision upholds a lower court ruling against 38 white firefighters who had contended that their civil rights were being violated by the plan.

EDUCATION/DESEGREGATION

Jan 10: In a White House briefing for reporters on a report "Chaos in the Classroom: Enemy of American Education," Terrel H. Bell, U.S. Secretary of Education, contends that disruptive classroom behavior is attributable to poverty. The report, submitted to President Reagan, maintains that the education system in the United States will not improve while violence and behavior problems exist. The report also asserts that even if financial commitments to the system are increased, it will remain ineffective as long as these factors are present. Bell says the problems will persist "Until we're able to help minorities make it in our society."

Jan. 18: Boston University and the Atlanta University Center announce the establishment of a new program designed to increase the number of black college students in the nation's medical schools. Black college sophomores will pursue studies during three successive summer sessions combining junior and senior level science requirements with those of the first year of medical school. The experimental program will begin with three students, building to a goal of ten students a year, when it is fully implemented. Boston University's minority enrollment rate is currently 12.8%. It hopes to bring the rate to 15% through the program.

Jan. 19: In an interview, Education Secretary Terrel H. Bell criticizes the use of computers in the nation's school system as a "fad." He says he will favor programs that develop new methods of teaching algebra and writing. Bell contends that education programs utilizing the computer amount to little more than "electronic page turning" encouraging limited interaction with a student's mind. He also backs down from his earlier assertions on the level of disruptiveness in the schools, after critics call the Reagan Administration's depiction of the problem exaggerated. Bell concedes that things are better but, maintains that the problem of school discipline is not solved.

Jan. 26: After 15 years, the Justice Department and the Bakersfield, Calif. school district reach agreement on a desegregation program utilizing magnet schools. The Justice Department agrees to the settlement despite earlier recommendations from the U.S. Department of Education advising that mandatory busing is necessary to achieve racial balance in the school district.

Feb. 2: Andrew Billingsley resigns as president of Morgan State University under charges of poor management of the financially stricken school. State legislative auditors rated the school's financial state as "very poor" citing problems that were known but, uncorrected over several years. The university faces a further reduction in state aid by the Senate Budget and Taxation Committee.

Feb. 9: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit rules 7-2, that Missouri must assume the costs of a voluntary school desegregation program. The court upheld the desegregation plan and found the state to be the "primary constitutional violator" in the case. The plan could cost between $30 to $100 million. It is the result of a 12-year suit brought on behalf of several black parents by the NAACP.

Feb. 18: Virginia's 1983-84 minority student enrollment goal is exceeded by 34% according to the state's Council of Higher Education. Officials say that 5,353 minority students are enrolled in two or four-year colleges, 1,362 more than the state goal of 3,991, in a report submitted to the U.S. Office of Civil Rights. While most of the increases occurred in Virginia's two-year community colleges, enrollment in four-year colleges did exceed the state's goal of 1,787. Minority student enrollment reached 2,701 (15.9%).

March 25: The state of Georgia faces a cutoff of federal education funds unless it complies with demands by the U.S. Department of Education that it abandon a college graduation test considered racially discriminatory. The department claims that because students in the state's three black colleges consistently fail the Regents Test at a significantly higher rate than students at Georgia's 30 other public colleges and universities, it is biased. The average scores statewide are 86% on the reading portion and 72% on the written. However, at one of the black schools, they were 51% and 43% respectively. Vernon Crawford, chancellor of the statewide university system, says blacks do poorly because reading and writing are not strongly emphasized in their homes. The state plans to contest the federal findings.

March 29: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, a national figure in education and civil rights, dies at the age of 89 in Atlanta, Ga. For 27 years (1940-1967), he had been president of Atlanta's Morehouse College. Mays, had said many times that one of his greatest honors was teaching and inspiring the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., while there. Georgia State Senator Julian Bond is another former Morehouse student of Dr. Mays. He gained his international reputation as an educator and lecturer while dean of the Howard University Divinity School from 1934-1940. In 1916, Dr. Mays left his farm home for college later earning a M.A. and a doctorate from the University of Chicago. Also, he had been the recipient of 45 other honorary degrees in law, divinity and the humanities.

April 8: The University of Colorado Law School presents a special conference assessing "Educational Equality 30 Years After Brown v. Topeka Board of Education," which concludes that little progress has been made in desegregating the nation's public colleges and universities, particularly in the South.

April 12: PUSH-EXCEL, an organization founded by the Rev. Jesse Jackson to promote academic excellence among blacks, is requested to pay back more than $700,000 to the U.S. Department of Education. The department says the disputed funds are the result of poor bookkeeping practices by PUSH and not evidence of fraud or mismanagement by any of its officials.

April 14: Federal District Judge Henry Woods orders the merger of the Little Rock School District, with the North Little Rock and Pulaski County districts, to head off an impending collapse of community support for public education he says. Judge Woods cites the Little Rock District's inability to pass a property tax in five years as indicative of white voters unwillingness to support heavily black school districts, especially when many whites have children in private schools. the Little Rock School District is 70% black, while North Little Rock is 37% black and suburban Pulaski County is 23% black.

May 17: Integrated classrooms help black students make modest gains in reading but not in math, after one or two years in such a set-

ting, according to a government sponsored report by the National Institute of Education. The report entitled "School Desegregation and Black Achievement," consists of seven papers written by scholars on the usefulness of school desegregation efforts.

June 3: The U.S. Department of Education and the state of Georgia reach an agreement on the provision of increased funding and remedial instruction to help students at three black colleges pass the state's controversial Regents Test. The test is a prerequisite for graduation from its university system. The state will spend up to $500,000 for compulsory remedial work and the establishment of reading and writing laboratories to be equipped with computers. The department had threatened to cut off federal education funds to Georgia, charging that the test was biased because black students at Fort Valley State College, Albany State College and Savannah State College failed it at rates considerably lower than the statewide average.

June 12: The U.S. Department of Justice resumes its civil rights suit alleging discrimination in education and housing against the city of Yonkers, N.Y. and its Board of Education. The action is taken after attempts to reach an out-of-court settlement fail after seven months of negotiations.

July 4: The Supreme Court rules 5-3 against a class-action lawsuit brought by black parents challenging tax exemptions to private schools. The parents claim such exemptions hinder desegregation of the public schools and support discrimination. The court finds that the parents lack "standing" to bring suit because their children are not victims of unequal treatment in the school's enrollment policies.

July 25: In a 6-5 vote, the Chicago School Board decides against renewing the contract of black Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Ruth B. Love. George Munoz, president of the board, cites several reasons for its action including Dr. Love's alleged failure to consult with it on major policy decisions or to make headway on three critical problems: a high dropout rate, low test scores and overcrowded classes. Dr. Love contends that the vote is politically motivated.

Aug. 8: The Chicago School Board's decision to offer the School Superintendent's post to a deputy superintendent, rather than renew the contract of Dr. Ruth B. Love, is challenged in a court suit filed by a supporter. The suit claims that the board violated the state's Open Meeting Act by failing to give the public prior notice that it was offering the job to Dr. Manford Byrd.

Aug. 20: The U.S. Department of Justice announces that it will appeal an order to provide $28.75 million in funds to the Chicago Board of Education for desegregation programs. Federal District Judge Milton Shadur accuses the Government of reneging on its promise to help the school board finance the programs.

Aug. 31: A special survey commissioned by the National Collegiate Athletic Association reveals that under its Proposition 48, 70% of black college freshmen in 1977 and 34% of the white, would not have qualified for places on their school athletic teams. Proposition 48 is a new rule passed by the NCAA at its 1983 convention requiring college athletes to score a minimum of 700 (out of 1,600) on the Scholastic Aptitude Test or 15 (out of 36) on the American College Test. The survey's data is to determine whether the new rule is discriminatory by relying on standardized tests that may be culturally biased.

Sept. 6: Virginia's traditionally white colleges and universities are having trouble in meeting their goals for black student enrollment, particularly the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and the State University at Blacksburg, according to a report by the state's Council of Higher Education. The universities have achieved only half their goals, with the exception of George Mason, which met its enrollment goal of 203 new black students.

Sept. 11: The Houston Independent School District, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund reach a $53.2 million school desegregation settlement. The agreement will cover a five-year period in which the white/black student ratio in inner-city magnet schools will be raised from 50-50 to 65-35. That ratio is already in effect in other magnet schools in the system. There are 185,000 students in the school district. The agreement ends a 28-year lawsuit.

Sept. 26: Federal District Judge Thomas Wiseman approves a desegregation settlement for historically black Tennessee State University that requires a 50-50 ratio of black and white students to be reached by 1993. Ironically, the Reagan Administration and a number of black students are opposed to the settlement of the 1968 discrimination suit, arguing that establishment of the racial quotas is arbitrary and illegal.

Sept. 27: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit rules that the federal government is not obligated to provide $100 million or more to the Chicago Board of Education to assist its desegregation efforts. The court rules that Federal District Judge Milton Shadur's decision abused the court's discretion by ordering the government to give the school district $29 million toward a $103.8 million obligation he set for the 1984-85 school year.

Sept. 31: The Justice Department refuses to sign a desegregation settlement reached for Tennessee State University arguing that it sets arbitrary quotas. Under the settlement, the university's student body would be 50% white by 1993 and its faculty and administrative staff would reach the same percentages of whites by 1989. Traditionally black Tennessee State merged with the predominately white University of Tennessee (the Nashville campus) in 1979.

Oct. 12: At the United Negro College Fund's annual "Salute to Leadership" Dinner, President Reagan says the organization shares his administration's goal of building "A genuine opportunity society." As honorary chairman of the dinner, celebrating the fund's 40th anniversary, President Reagan praises its financial support of black colleges and students, as well as its "true loyalty and devotion" to them. According to the report, the fund has raised $350 million for black higher education.

Oct. 31: Ousted Chicago Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Ruth B. Love, files a lawsuit against the school board, two aides of Mayor Harold Washington and her successor, charging all conspired to remove her from the post. Love's suit also charges race and sex discrimination. Dr. Manford Byrd Jr., in an 8-3 vote by the school board, is installed as the new school superintendent.

Nov. 1: Earl S. Richardson is named president of Morgan State University after serving as the school's interim president over the course of a five-month national search according to the board of regents. Richardson has been in the post ever since he replaced the former president, Andrew Billingsley, who resigned.

Nov. 4: Education officials contest Reagan Administration claims that it has substantially increased federal funding to historically black colleges. Joyce Payne of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, says $400 million of the $606 million the government has reported providing is questionable. Payne contends many black colleges have suffered under administration cuts in grants, loans and loan guarantees to students. She says the government's figures are distorted by large financial awards to select black colleges.

Nov. 20: According to the report, a senior White House official says that President Reagan is likely to push for the dismantling of the U.S. Department of Education in his second term. The official says that while the president believes that the federal government has a role in education, he does not think that it requires a cabinet-level department.

Dec. 19: Outgoing U.S. Secretary of Education T.H. Bell announces that test score levels have risen and school dropout rates have declined nationwide, improving measureably since 1982, Bell presents statistics giving a state-by-state comparison that shows the national dropout rate has declined from 27.2% to 26.1% between 1982 and 1983. Bell says while it doesn't signal an academic turnaround, "the indicators look good."

Dec. 21: The Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics reports that one out of every eight American children is attending private rather than public school in the 1980's. The center says that in the fall of 1983, private school students accounted for 12.6% of the 45.2 million students in all/elementary and secondary schools in the country. According to the report, because there are fewer school-age children, enrollment

grew for private schools while it shrunk in the public school system, which has traditionally attracted 90% of all school enrollments.

POLITICS

Jan.1: Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson meets with Navy Lt. Robert O. Goodman Jr., in Syria, where the black flier has been imprisoned since being shot down in a U.S. raid on that country's antiaircraft sites. Jackson also meets with Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam. Afterwards, Jackson says the securing of Goodman's release is closer but dependent upon Syria's satisfaction that the United States fully understands its position on the U.S. reconnaissance flights.

Jan. 3: W. Wilson Goode is sworn in as the 126th and first black Mayor of Philadelphia. Announcing plans to establish a Philadelphia Volunteer Corps, Goode says the city will work together to "clean up our city, fight crime, attract new talent to government, expand recreation programs, combat our literacy problem and wipe out graffiti." In Philadelphia, white voters outnumber blacks three to two, but Goode is said to have won with his basic appeal to all segments of the city typified in the question he posed to voters throughout his campaign, "Will you help me?"

Jan. 4: The release of Navy Lt. Robert O. Goodman Jr., from Syrian captivity, is won by Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson. According to the report, Jackson's accomplishment is considered an "astounding" diplomatic and political victory. Goodman reveals that he was beaten during his month-long imprisonment.

Jan. 9: An eight-year decline in the rate of increase for black elected officials ends with a rise in their numbers to 5,606 in 1983, according to a report by the Joint Center for Political Studies. The report says the figure represents an 8.6% increase for all black officeholders. In 1982, there were 5,160 black public officials. In addition, at that time, black women held 1,223 elective posts or 22% of the black total. According to the report, this rate is nearly double that for white women. Eddie N. Williams, president of the center predicts that the growth in black political participation will result in increased voter registration, turnout and the election of more blacks to public office.

Jan. 28: A three-judge panel invalidates eight legislative districts in North Carolina under the Voting Rights Act, already approved by the Justice Department. The ruling, made by a federal court, puts the department on notice for a second time that its "preclearance" of redistricting plans does not prohibit court challenges by minority groups. In North Carolina, blacks have opposed "multi-member" districts (that can choose as many as eight representatives from a single district), which they contend would

allow a white majority to prevent blacks from winning any seats.

Feb. 20: Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, denounces several black mayors for supporting Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale, rather than Jesse Jackson, at church services at the Willborn Temple in Albany, N.Y. Farrakhan alleges that Mayors Andrew Young of Atlanta, Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and Richard Arrington of Birmingham, Ala., gave their support without determining whether Mondale "stood for the good of the people."

Feb. 26: In New Hampshire, at the Temple Adath Yershurun, Jesse Jackson admits that he used the terms "Hymie" and "Hymietown" in reference to Jews in private conversations. However, Jackson asserts that he is not anti-Semitic or anti-Israel and calls for dialogue between the black and Jewish communities. Seeking the Democratic Party's nomination for president, he urges the Jewish community to join his rainbow coalition. Acknowledging that the use of the words was wrong, Jackson says, "It was not done in the spirit of meanness."

March 7: According to the Census Bureau, black voter turnout in the South has steadily increased while voter turnout nationally and for other groups has decreased. The bureau's report, "Voting and Registration Highlights from the Current Population Survey: 1964 to 1980" shows that in two decades, the black Southern voting rate has increased from 44% to 48%. Nationwide, the white voting rate remained at 60.9% in the 1976 and 1980 elections, while the black voting rate rose to 50.5% from 48.7%. In 1964, the white voting rate was 70.7% and black voter participation at 58.5%.

March 8: The National Black Coalition for 1984 and the National Black Leadership Roundtable release a broad policy statement entitled "the People's Platform" designed to provide an agenda and standard of measure for all presidential candidates. The platform calls for greater protection of the needy by altering federal budget priorities, for establishing a comprehensive national policy for manpower skills development and for restoring spending on human resources to 1981 levels. Contending that the platform is not only for black people, Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, says it addresses the concerns of a vast majority of Americans.

March 15: Black voters are turning out in levels exceeding many Southern statewide averages because of the presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson. In Georgia, voter turnout in some black precincts has been 40% to 50% compared to a statewide average of 28%. Although Jackson finishes third in the state, he receives 61% of its black votes according to a New York Times/CBS News Poll. Mondale garners 30% of the black vote. In Alabama, Jackson wins 50% of the black vote to Mondale's 47%. State Sen. Michael Figures asserts that Jackson would have carried Alabama if not for Birmingham's overwhelming support of Walter F. Mondale led by Mayor Richard Arrington.

March 22: In the Illinois primary, Jesse Jackson makes a strong showing among black voters winning 79% of their vote. However, his rival for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, Walter F. Mondale, draws 17% of the black vote and 47% of the white. Gary Hart wins 45% of the white vote and 4% of the black.

March 25: The Rev. Jesse Jackson makes an impressive showing in Virginia's primary caucuses leading in the popular vote with 6,601 votes to Walter Mondale's 5,534 votes. In the state Congressional District Conventions, Jackson receives 730 delegates to Mondale's 741, in the first round of the state's two-day selection process choosing some 3,500 delegates. Jackson's strong showing in the state is attributed to a large black voter turnout, particularly in the Tidewater area which includes four cities with substantial black populations. For example, in Norfolk, Jackson won 81.8% of the total votes cast. Blacks make up about 19% of the state's overall population. There are only two black state senators.

April 5: Although finishing second to Walter F. Mondale, Jesse Jackson wins 33% of the city-wide vote in the New York primary elections. Statewide, Jackson is third, garnering 26% of the vote. Walter Mondale wins the city primary with 45% of the vote and the state with the same percentage. Gary Hart finishes second with 20% of the city's vote and 27% of the state's. Jackson is credited with spurring the largest black voter turnout in the state's history and with dramatically increasing minority voter registration in the city.

April 6: Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, denies that he threatened the life of Washington Post reporter Milton Coleman in a radio broadcast speech in Chicago on March 11. In a telephone call to Coleman, Farrakhan says he is willing to meet with the reporter "face to face," so that he can tell him "exactly what I said and the context in which I said it."

April 9: The Rev. Jesse Jackson threatens that if Walter F. Mondale becomes the Democratic presidential nominee, he will withhold his support unless Mondale changes his position and opposes runoff elections in primary contests. Jackson charges that the Democratic Party's use of runoff primaries in ten Southern states discriminates against black office seekers and violates the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

April 15: According to the report, efforts to register the poor to vote in state and municipal agencies is being blocked by government officials and Republican opponents who claim that the activity unfairly benefits the Democratic Party. Especially at issue is the proposed use of public employees as voter registrars in food stamp centers, unemployment offices, motor vehicle departments and other such sites. Litigation by civil rights and social service groups is underway in several states to allow the registration to continue without interference. In some cases, federal judges have ruled against attempts to end it on the grounds that they usurp the First Amendment right of free speech in public places.

May 2: The Rev. Jesse Jackson scores the first major victory in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination by winning the District of Columbia primary with 63.6% of the vote (according to partial, unofficial returns). The returns for the candidates are based on 42,027 ballots counted out of an estimated 100,000 ballots cast in 137 voting precincts. Accordingly, Jackson receives 32,517 votes, Mondale secures 12,310 (28.4%) and Sen. Gary Hart receives 4,058 (8%).

May 7: Black voters in Louisiana turn out in record numbers giving Jesse Jackson his first state win in the primary elections. Jackson wins 43% of the vote, followed by Sen. Gary Hart with 25% and Walter F. Mondale with 22%. Jackson's success results from a heavy black voter turnout among the state's nearly 500,000 registered black voters and low turnout among whites. The state has 1.7 million registered Democrats.

May 10: Rep. Katie Hall (D-Ind.), a freshman from Indiana's 1st Congressional District, is upset in her bid for a second term losing to Peter Visclosky in the primary election. Hall had been the state's first black congresswoman. During the campaign, Visclosky had charged Hall with neglecting her white constituency and favoring black interests. Mayor Richard G. Hatcher (Gary), a supporter of Hall, blames low voter turnout among blacks for the congresswoman's defeat. He says she would have won if black voter turnout had been 70% instead of 50%.

May 12: In his ongoing battle with the Democratic Party leadership over delegate selection rules, Jesse Jackson threatens to challenge them in a floor fight at the party's national convention in July. Jackson expresses his dissatisfaction with a resolution passed by the Association of State Democratic Chairs which asserts the party's openness, responsiveness and commitment to equal rights.

May 23: Jesse Jackson presents a new proposal to the Democratic National Committee to alter its delegate selection process which he says discriminates against blacks. Jackson's proposal recommends that delegates be awarded on the basis of a candidate's statewide votes in primary elections rather than relying solely on tallies in congressional districts.

May 24: In Chicago, City Council Majority Leader Edward Burke files a lawsuit in Circuit Court alleging that Mayor Harold Washington has forefeited his post by failing to file a financial disclosure form by the state's deadline. Washington's statement is filed 23 days after an April 30 legal deadline. He denounces Burke's charge as without substance and politically motivated.

May 25: Cook County Circuit Court Judge James Murray dismisses a lawsuit seeking the ouster of Mayor Harold Washington ruling that City Council Majority Leader Edward Burke lacked the authority to file it.

June 17: In Philadelphia, Mayor Wilson Goode hosts a meeting of black

mayors who reportedly take exception to Jesse Jackson's quest for a rules change in the Democratic Party's delegate selection system. The mayors say greater emphasis should be placed on the "bread and butter" issues at the Democratic National Convention than on efforts to change the party's delegate selection process. Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young asserts that the delegates will not have any impact on whether Reagan is defeated or not, and that "the primary issue is jobs."

June 29: In a statement released through his campaign advisers in Washington, Jesse Jackson disavows controversial statements on Jews and support of Israel made by Louis Farrakhan, calling the remarks "reprehensible and morally indefensible." Farrakhan is the leader of the American black Muslim movement, the Nation of Islam. Jackson says anti-semitism nor anti-black statements have any place in his own thinking or in the Democratic presidential campaign.

July 2: Despite continued controversy, Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson says he sees no need to denounce Louis Farrakhan as a racist. Jackson says further that the U.S. Senate and President Reagan overreacted by publicly censuring Farrakhan. Statements made by Farrakhan on Jews and supporters of Israel have been denounced by Jackson as "reprehensible and morally indefensible."

July 9: Jesse Jackson says that he will send a signal to his delegates and other supporters to sit out the presidential elections if he determines that black and minority issues are not being adequately addressed at the Democratic National Convention.

July 10: According to a New York Times/CBS News Poll, blacks prefer Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale to Jesse Jackson by a margin of five to three. The poll reveals that only 4% of Jackson's supporters have indicated that they would be less likely to vote for Mondale or to not vote at all in the election. Political analysts contend that the findings show that blacks are resorting to pragmatism rather than pride in their choice of a candidate. The results of the poll counter Jackson's claim that Mondale would need his signal to win Jackson delegates and supporters.

July 18: In San Francisco, Jesse Jackson says he will support the Democratic presidential nominee even if he is not the party's choice. Describing his constituency as the "damned, disinherited, (and) despised," Jackson still asks his delegates to vote for him. He also asks that blacks and Jews "seek a revival of the spirit inspired by a new vision and new possibilities," in conciliatory language, referring to what he calls their shared passion for social justice.

July 20: Jesse Jackson agrees to present a "consensus of requests" from black America to Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic presidential nominee, at the conclusion of a meeting with black national

political leaders and some Mondale supporters. The "black agenda" lists a number of concerns. They include a call for budgetary commitments to targeted urban jobs programs and ensuring that the Justice Department will emphasize corrective action for civil rights violations.

July 31: In a runoff election in Selma, Ala., Raymond Major loses his bid to become the city's highest black elected official, despite having led four white opponents in the July 10 primary. White voter turnout in the runoff increases two-fold to elect former mayor, Carl Morgan Jr., (63) with 4,679 votes to Major's 3,612 (based on unofficial returns and excluding 600 absentee ballots). According to the report, balloting split along racial lines in the city Martin Luther King Jr., once called the most segregated in the United States.

Aug. 14: Democratic presidential nominee Walter F. Mondale angrily expresses frustration with Jesse Jackson's continued demands for greater black involvement in his campaign. The conversation is overheard on the Mondale campaign plane by a reporter. According to the report, Mondale cites the selection of Ernest Green, as one of his deputy campaign managers, as not being enough for Jackson and says "I can win this thing on my own." Later, in a news conference after the plane lands in Memphis, Mondale explains the remark by saying that he wants Jackson's support, but "brokers cannot deliver the presidency."

Aug. 16: Robert Benham is elected to the state Court of Appeals, making him the first black to win statewide office in Georgia. Benham wins 58% of the vote in the nonpartisan judicial election, defeating three white opponents and avoiding a runoff election. A Cartersville lawyer, Benham had been appointed to the court last spring by Gov. Joe Frank Harris. Meanwhile, state Sen. Julian Bond successfully defeats his opponent, black Democrat Hildred W. Shumake, winning reelection to another term.

Aug. 18: In a speech before the National Association of Black Journalists convention in Atlanta, Mayor Andrew Young criticizes Walter F. Mondale's campaign staff as insensitive to blacks. Characterizing the staff as "a bunch of smart-assed white boys who think they know it all," Young says he cannot let that stop him from working for Mondale's election and urges blacks to do the same.

Aug. 20: The NAACP begins a 350-mile march dubbed the "Overground Railroad" in an effort to register voters in the Middle Atlantic states. According to the report, a core group of 25 marchers will travel through northern Virginia, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, Camden, N.J., Newark and New York, roughly retracing a route used in the 1800's by escaped slaves. In each city, the marchers will hold rallies, register voters and conduct workshops on how to run voter registration campaigns.

Aug. 25 Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale will meet with Jesse Jackson and other prominent black politicans in an

attempt to strengthen black support of his candidacy, campaign aides announce. Among the matters to be discussed in the meeting are key black issues that some blacks charge have not been prominent in the Mondale campaign and urban policy. The meeting will be hosted by Mondale and Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.) in St. Paul. Rangel is co-chairman of the Mondale campaign and its highest ranking black.

Aug. 31: The results of a public opinion poll released by the Joint Center for Political Studies reveals that black Americans are more unified as a group in their political beliefs than whites regardless of age, income, sex, region and other factors. One exception to this general finding is the attitudes of young blacks between the ages of 18 and 29. They are a little less enthusiastic about the Democratic Party and traditional values on family life, sex and religion than older blacks. In the poll, 40% of all blacks support the Democratic ticket, while only 30% of younger blacks do. The poll, conducted by the Gallup organization, interviewed some 1,362 whites and 902 blacks, the largest national sample of blacks ever polled.

Sept. 1: Jesse Jackson meets with 14 southern Democratic state chairmen and other representatives of the party's campaign, to determine a way to unify blacks and whites on common economic issues, as a strategy for winning the South in the presidential election. Through the meeting, two committees are formed -- one to develop a southern campaign agenda and the other to execute the plan. It will include a continued effort to register all eligible voters, particularly blacks. Jackson helps to initiate the meeting which includes top Mondale political advisors.

Sept. 6: The seven million member National Baptist Convention, USA Inc., is urged to vote Democratic in the November presidential election by several local and national politicans as its meeting opens in Washington, D.C. Reportedly, Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale will deliver a speech to the convention's 30,000 delegates. The Rev. Dr. T. J. Jemison, president of the organization, indicates support for the Democratic ticket but does not endorse a candidate.

Sept. 11: Following a meeting with President Reagan, the Rev. T. J. Jemison, president of the National Baptist Convention, says the President's views on blacks have been distorted and that he appears to have sympathy for them. Earlier, Jemison had been sharply critical of Reagan.

Oct. 1: Black legislators and others attending closing sessions of the 14th annual Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Weekend express pessimism over whether blacks will vote in large numbers in the presidential election. Reportedly, the lawmakers are concerned over whether blacks will be motivated to vote because of what they see as the limited attention given to black concerns in the Democratic campaign and its likelihood of winning the presidency.

Oct. 27: The Miami City Commission dismisses black City Manager Howard V. Gary in a 3-2 vote, with Mayor Maurice Ferre voting against him in a surprising move. His dismissal is based on a charge of "lack of communication with the Commissioners." Mayor Ferre says his vote against Gary is related to basic differences between them on the city's administration and not his performance. Public reaction to the Commission's move is vehement. The city's two major english language dailies call for removal of the entire City Commission, black leaders urge recall drives and Cuban Americans disassociate themselves from the Commission fearing a rise in anti-Hispanic sentiment among blacks. Gary has been credited with diffusing such racial tension.

Oct. 28: Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young asserts that the only black votes that President Reagan should win are those of "cold-hearted black millionaires who are probably going to hell," in a news conference before a voter turnout rally at Fort Valley State College. Young's remark is made in response to a question on whether any blacks had reason to vote for Reagan rather than the Democratic candidate Walter F. Mondale. The identities of the black millionaires that Young refers to is not reported.

Nov. 8: President Reagan achieves a landslide victory over his Democratic challenger Walter F. Mondale, winning 525 electoral votes and 59% of the popular vote. In a news conference, the President says that his reelection indicates that those who voted for him endorse his economic policies. Mondale wins only 13 electoral votes carrying his home state of Minnesota and the District of Columbia. Two hundred and seventy electoral votes are needed to win the presidential election. Mondale receives 90% of the black vote, while President Reagan garners only 9%, down two percentage points from the 11% he won in 1980.

Nov. 14: The Supreme Court upholds a provision in the 1982 Voting Rights Act which makes illegal, redistricting plans and elections laws that have discriminatory results. The ruling applies to a Mississippi redistricting plan that gives black voters a 53% majority in the 2nd Congressional District. State officials and the Mississippi Republican Party had contended that the plan went too far in doing so. The court's ruling also indicates that it is not necessary to prove intent to find election systems and apportionment plans discriminatory.

Dec. 6: According to the report, Rep. William H. Gray III (D-Pa.) has a good chance of being elected chairman of the powerful House Budget Committee. Gray has been campaigning for the post which would reportedly make him the most powerful black in Congress. Rep. Charles. W. Stenholm (D-Tex.), leader of the conservative "Boll Weevils", praises Gray's fairness, flexibility and mastery of the budget process. If elected chairman of the Budget Committee, Gray will oversee its drafting of a Democratic alternative to President Reagan's budget.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Jan. 7: In a memo to the eight members of the newly constituted U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, staff director Linda Chavez outlines a changed emphasis in the agency's approaches to affirmative action, desegregation and other civil rights concerns. According to Chavez, the commission will no longer favor actions that are discriminatory in effect, while attempting to redress inequity. Using that rationale, Chavez recommends the cancellation of several ongoing commission studies including one to determine the impact of federal budget cuts in student aid at predominately black and Hispanic colleges. At the same time, she calls for a study to assess what she cites as the coincidence of declining academic standards with the rise of affirmative action in higher education.

Jan. 17: In a 50-3 vote, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights decides to cancel a study on the effect of the Reagan Administration's budget cuts in financial aid on predominately black and Hispanic colleges. In addition, the commission votes in favor of a study examining the social and economic differences between ethnic groups that would, for the first time, reject the premise of discrimination as a factor. And, in further action, the commission members unanimously approve a resolution declaring the agency's independence of all outside influences including the White House and other groups.

Jan. 18: Rejecting its traditional stance on affirmative action, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights adopts a resolution opposing the use of quotas on the grounds that they victimize majority group members by denying them their equal rights. Citing an affirmative action plan adopted by the Detroit Police Department, the commission's resolution registers disappointment with the Supreme Court for refusing to review the case. The Detroit plan requires that black and white officers be promoted in equal numbers until blacks make up 50% of the total force. The commission also votes to divorce itself from all of the agency's past policies and recommendations for action in specific civil rights cases.

March 15: Clarence Pendleton, Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and Linda Chavez, its staff director, testify before a House Appropriations subcommittee hearing on the agency's $12.7 million fiscal 1985 budget, which is challenged by leaders of congressional black, Hispanic and women's caucuses. They maintain that the commission should not be funded because it does not monitor civil rights abuses as it was created to do. The commission has dropped some of its studies alleging they are beyond its authority. In letters to the caucus leaders, Pendleton and Chavez claim efforts to defund the commission attack its independence.

March 24: In Baltimore, major figures in civil rights, politics, the Congress and the Judiciary, attend the funeral of Clarence M. Mitchell Jr., a patriarch of America's civil rights movement, who

dies at 73. Among the mourners are Democratic presidential candidates Jesse Jackson, Walter F. Mondale and Gary Hart, Maryland Gov. Harry Hughes and National Urban League President John E. Jacob. Mitchell is praised throughout the two-hour memorial service for his work as a lobbyist for the NAACP in Washington, D.C. and for his role in helping to shape, in the 1960's, historic civil rights legislation.

March 29: In a 5-2 vote, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights urges Congress to narrow the scope of civil rights laws protecting minorities and the handicapped. The commission seeks legislation similar in effect to a Supreme Court ruling in a sex discrimination case. The court ruled that when a program within an institution is found guilty of discrimination, federal funds may be withheld only from that program and not the entire institution, as has been required in the past. Additionally, the commission asks Congress to reconsider what constitutes discrimination and whether evidence of discriminatory effect is sufficient without evidence of discriminatory intent to prove bias.

April 6: Clarence Pendelton, chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, asserts that blacks have no special protection under the civil rights laws, despite their history of enslavement, in a speech to a black group in Atlanta. Stating that "Affirmative action was not meant to last forever," Pendelton calls for the repeal of federal laws requiring government contractors to submit affirmative action plans. He also says that the commission has to study the effects of affirmative action programs on white males. His presentation at the Atlanta Hungry Club is interrupted several times by angry mumbles and groans.

May 2: Two weeks after the endorsement of his reelection campaign by the Ku Klux Klan, President Reagan repudiates the racial hate organization's action in a letter to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the group has urged members to vote for Reagan, characterizing the Republican platform as "pure Klan." The commission agrees to ask Jesse Jackson, one of the Democratic presidential candidates for a similar repudiation of the support of Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam.

May 3: Morris Abram, vice chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, says he was acting as an attorney for a client when he agreed to the use of quotas in a New York City Housing Project. Abram maintains there is no conflict between his roles as an attorney and as a member of the commission, who voted with the majority against the use of racial and gender quotas to phohibit discrimination. Abram's defense upheld the Starrett City housing mangement's use of a quota system in which 60% of the residents are white and 40% are black to "manage occupancy" in the project. Settlement of the case requires that 174 more units among the projects 5,800 be alloted for minority families.

May 17: Proponents of a bill designed to restore the original intent of

anti-discrimination laws, altered by a Supreme Court ruling, testify at a joint hearing of two House committees. Supporters of the Civil Rights Act of 1984 say the legislation is needed to ensure "an all-inclusive prohibition against sex, race, handicap or age discrimination in schools, hospitals, state and local governments, or any other entity that conducts a federally assisted activity." Advoctates of the bill maintain that the laws were endangered by the Grove City College (Pennsylvania) decision. The Supreme Court ruled that only a program found guilty of discrimination can be denied federal funds and not the entire institution of which it is a part.

May 23: William Bradford Reynolds, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, in testimony on the Civil Rights Act of 1984, contends that the legislation will create "an unnecessary tension" between the "principles of equal opportunity and limited Federal involvement in state and local affairs." Reynolds says further that if passed, the act will increase civil rights litigation, the costs of civil rights enforcement and the Federal government's regulatory responsibilities. He maintains that its provisions go beyond mere reversal of the Supreme Court ruling on Grove City College.

May 24: The Civil Rights Act of 1984, legislation drafted to clarify the applicability of anti-bias laws for institutions receiving federal funds, is passed by the Judiciary and Education and Labor Committees in the House, disregarding Reagan Administration objections. The administration claims that the bill does more than reverse the decision on Grove City College and will result in the federal government's intrusion in state and local affairs. The legislation makes it possible for an entire institution to lose its federal funding if any one of its programs is found guilty of discrimination. A similar bill is being considered by the Senate.

June 28: In a unanimous ruling, the Supreme Court says it is "inappropriate" for federal judges to use deadlines established by a state's administrative grievance procedure (designed to resolve employment discrimination complaints without a lawsuit), as determinants of whether civil rights lawsuits reach federal court. The court's decision invalidates the dismissal of a discrimination suit against officials of Coppin State College because it had not been filed before the expiration of a six-month statute of limitations set by the Maryland Human Rights Commission.

June 29: The Reagan Administration challenges a discrimination settlement reached in the Starrett City housing case (Brooklyn, N.Y.) on the grounds that it does not resolve the issue of the development's use of racial quotas to balance resident occupancy.

July 3: According to reports, Clarence Pendleton, chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, has sent President Reagan two separate letters criticizing him for recent actions on behalf of blacks and minorities, which he says run counter to the adminis-

tration's opposition to preferential treatment on civil rights concerns. Specifically, Pendleton objects to a special briefing session at the White House for black administration officials; a statement by President Reagan supporting local set-aside programs for minority contractors; and an administration decision to grant "disadvantaged" status to Hasidic Jews making them eligible as a group for federal business assistance.

July 9: Black Republicans register sharp disagreement with the civil rights policies of the Reagan Administration, with many calling for removal of the Justice Department's civil rights chief, William Bradford Reynolds. One prominent black Republican, attorney William T. Coleman, says Reynolds' interpretation of civil rights laws has been "about 100% wrong and despicable." Reynolds has vigorously opposed, often siding with whites alleging reverse discrimination, busing to achieve school desegregation and the use of quotas and other special actions in education and employment. The black Republicans contend that the administration's policies are costing the party increased black membership.

July 9: At the opening session of the annual Southern Governors Association meeting, the Republican Party is warned that unless it exerts a greater effort to attract black voters, it will remain the minority party in American politics. Gov. Lamar Alexander of Tennessee says Republicans "tend to write off blacks," expressing little optimism for change. Alexander is one of eight governors on a panel assessing civil rights in the South. Included among the panelists is former National Urban League President Vernon E. Jordan Jr., and Wiley Branton, former dean of Howard University's law school and an activist in numerous civil rights cases.

July 12: Acknowledging a "residue of racial issues" in the South, the Southern Governors Association ends its 50th annual meeting by adopting a resolution citing their commitment to ensuring equal access to the free enterprise system for all citizens in the region and the nation. The three-paragraph resolution is approved by seven of the governors remaining at the meeting. Ten others had already left. Gov. Charles Robb of Virginia says that the resolution drafted by the association, whose membership is largely Democratic, is intended to demonstrate its commitment to civil rights.

Aug. 8: In response to criticism, aides to Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale say that he will not seek to replace the current members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights named by President Reagan. The aides assert that Mondale feels the integrity of the agency has been comprised, but realizes that the law would preclude him from removing any commissioner for political reasons. Mondale maintains that the Reagan Administration "trashed" the commission when it replaced three members critical of its policies.

Sept. 16: Former officials of the National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People announce that they will establish a non-profit organization to be called the Research and Advocacy Center for Equality or RACE. Charles Smith, former deputy execuitve director and Michael Meyers former assistant director for the NAACP, say the interracial organization will work to improve the status and secure the rights of minorities and the poor. This is to be accomplished by influencing public policy, policy analysis, research, fact-finding and critical review of the policies set by other civil rights groups.

Sept. 28: In a narrow vote of 51-48, the Senate approves the attachment of civil rights legislation to an omnibus governemnt spending bill to further ensure its consideration for passage. Those voting in support of the action say it is critical for civil rights. The legislation, the Civil Rights Act of 1984, would overturn the Supreme Court decision in the Grove City College v. Bell case. That decision dictates that only a program guilty of discrimination, and not an entire institution, may be denied federal funds. The Reagan Administration has interpreted the ruling to also apply in cases involving race, sex, age and other factors.

Sept. 30: Under a proposed plan drafted by the Department of Health and Human Services, the states will assume responsibility for enforcing civil rights laws in programs receiving block grant funding from the federal government. Reagan Administration officials contend that the plan is consistent with its "new federalism" program, which turns authority held by the federal government over to the states so that they can "better" manage their affairs. Opponents in the civil rights community contend the plan presents a "conflict-of-interest" in allowing state governments, which channel the federal funds, to determine whether programs are discriminatory.

Oct. 3: The Senate fails to reach a compromise on the Civil Rights Act of 1984 and tables the measure in a roll call vote of 53-54. Proponents have sought to attach the measure to an omnibus spending bill for the fiscal 1985 federal budget. According to the report, failure to attach the measure to the bill is a defeat for civil rights advocates who expected to use the legislation to overturn the Supreme Court decision, in Grove City V. Bell, limiting the enforcement of federal statutes prohibiting discrimination. The measure has been passed in the House.

Oct. 28: Franklin A. Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation, says the United States has reached a "critical time in its march toward equality" at Columbia University's Whitney M. Young Jr. Lecture. Thomas says that the nation can meet the "pressure" of American minorities seeking to hold it to its values and promise. He says this can be achieved by insuring respect for the individual and a legal and moral framework protecting civil liberties, equal access to economic and political power and "commitment to peacemaking." The lecture honors Young, the late former executive director of the National Urban League.

Oct. 30: The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights gives the 98th Congress a rating of "moderately good" on its civil rights record, praising it for preventing the "Radical Right" from enacting its legislative agenda. It cites six senators and 57 House members who voted favorably on its key votes and two senators and six representatives who did not. Ralph Neas, the executive director, says among the organization's civil rights successes in 1984 are passage of legislation establishing a Martin Luther King Holiday and increasing funding and protection for the Legal Services Corp.

Nov. 7: According to Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.), "confidential sources" have informed him that amendments used by conservative senators to defeat the Civil Rights Act of 1984 were prepared by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Linda Chavez, staff director of the commission, denies the charge. She says Rep. Edwards is attacking the commission because it pointed out inconsistencies and misleading statements in the bill to conservative opponents in a letter from Chavez and in a memorandum from its general counsel. Chavez acknowledges providing the senators with written analyses of the proposal.

Nov. 12: The Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., "Daddy King", dies in Atlanta of heart disease at 84. Father of the slain civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., he served as pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church for 44 years. He had been one of the South's most influential black clergymen for decades and his congregation one of Atlanta's most prominent. As a member of the NAACP's Social Action Committee, he waged the early civil rights battles in Atlanta, setting the stage for future rights advocates, including his son.

Nov. 20: Clarence Pendleton, chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, accuses Jesse L. Jackson, Vernon E. Jordan Jr., Benjamin L. Hooks, and other black leaders of having encouraged blacks to commit political suicide by urging them to vote against President Reagan. Pendleton charges that, "black leaders have made an industry out of racial politics," and that if the president wanted to be purely political, blacks wouldn't get a thing." Vernon Jordan, a Washington lawyer, and former president of the National Urban League, says the president is elected to lead all the people and calls the idea of singling out for punishment, blacks or whites who did not vote for him, dumb.

Dec. 13: In a speech at the Library of Congress, marking the 20th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Eleanor Holmes Norton accuses the Reagan Administration of encouraging confusion over the issue of affirmative action rather than providing responsible national leadership. Norton, former head of the EEOC, charges William Bradford Reynolds, the assistant attorney general for civil rights, with using his office to "escalate the drumbeat," against affirmative action.

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Jan. 11: A special panel, the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control, recommends that every federal agency issue forms similar to the W-2 used by the IRS, which it says will help reduce government programs and redirect them to the "truly needy." The panel says the plan could save $58.9 billion over a three-year period. Benefits would be targeted to individuals meeting certain income and asset requirements. According to the report, although the federal government spent $124 billion on programs for the poor in 1982, it closed the "poverty gap" (the amount of income required to bring all poor people up to the official poverty level) by only $34.7 billion.

Feb. 2: President Reagan's fiscal 1985 budget is sent to Congress proposing additional cuts in social programs and large increases for defense. Defense will receive more than half of the $71.7 billion increase in budget outlays over last year's budget, while domestic spending cuts will total $9.2 billion in fiscal 1985 if the plan is accepted by Congress. According to the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, an estimated $3.7 billion of that amount will come from programs for low-income families, resulting in an overall cut of 4% for such programs. The total budget calls for expenditures of $925.5 billion and anticipates a deficit of $180.4 billion.

Feb. 5: According to this report, the Reagan Administration defends its civil rights policies in a special 32-page analysis of its record, which is included in the fiscal 1985 budget. In the report, the administration says that federal spending on civil rights concerns increased slightly from $633.1 million in fiscal 1984, to $644.3 million for fiscal 1985. Critics maintain that it has not kept pace with inflation.

Feb. 9: Democrats in the House and Senate reject a Reagan Administration proposal designed to reduce the $180 billion dollar deficit projected for the fiscal 1985 budget. Democrats contend that the plan to raise $44.8 billion in taxes, and to cut spending by $45.5 billion over three years, will have very little impact on the deficit. According to the report, many of the measures proposed in the plan have already been included in the administration's budget plan and therefore, are not innovative. House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O' Neill say further talks should focus on stemming the growth of defense spending.

March 9: Under pressure from congressional Republicans, President Reagan agrees to reduce his request for military spending increases by $57 billion over a three-year period. The action is taken in an effort to cut the federal budget deficit by $150 billion by 1987. According to the report, in addition to the reduction in military spending, a third of the budget savings would come from cuts in social programs and another third in tax increases of $50 billion.

March 29: The Coalition on Women and the Budget releases a 100-page report contending that women and children have borne the brunt of the Reagan Administration's budget cuts over the past three years. The report titled "Inequality of Sacrifice," says that since 1981, the military budget has increased by $415 and taxes have been cut by $5,40, for every dollar cut from social programs. The report says further that if taxes had been cut 10% less, the reductions in domestic spending would have been unnecessary.

April 2: According to a study by the General Account Office, nearly half a million families cut from the welfare rolls in 1981 by the Reagan Administration, have suffered greater hardship than previously reported. The study has found that 14% to 24% failed to seek medical treatment because of its expense, while 29% to 48% bypassed dental treatment for the same reason. Additionally, many of the families cut from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program have lost benefits from other programs such as food stamps, and Medicaid, as a result. The cities included in the survey requested by the House Ways and Means Committee are Boston; Dallas, Memphis, Tenn.; Milwaukee and Syracuse, N.Y.

April 13: The House approves its budget resolution by a vote of 261-152, cutting the growth of domestic programs over a three-year period to help reduce the federal budget deficit. The House spending plan would save $5 billion through cuts in civil service and military retirement savings, veterans benefits and small business programs. In addition, the budget resolution extends medical coverage to women and children previously ineligible, by establishing a "Child Health Assurance Program" at a cost of $500 million under the Medicaid program.

April 23: According to the article, the Reagan Administration convenes a panel of eight economists to determine ways of measuring non-cash benefits (such as food stamps, housing subsidies and Medicaid), for a possible redefinition of poverty.

May 11: The Senate narrowly defeats an amendment to President Reagan's $150 billion budget deficit reduction plan, which would have increased spending on domestic programs while decreasing military spending. The proposal authored by Sen. John H. Chaffee (R-RI) would have removed spending ceilings set by the administration, to increase funding for domestic programs from savings generated by cuts in the arms budget. The amendment is defeated by a vote of 48-46.

May 19: The Senate approves its budget resolution for fiscal year 1985, authorizing a budget of $925 billion and estimating a deficit of $187.7 billion. The Senate's budget cuts $35 billion from domestic spending, about twice the amount sought by the House, according to the article.

June 10: A study by the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University

finds that the states have been able to provide funding for benefits lost to the poor because of President Reagan's 1981 budget cuts. However, the report also finds that the president has been successful in removing the "working poor" from the welfare rolls without a similar replacement of benefits by the states. According to the study, the states have been able to maintain most of the 54 social programs returned to their authority under the administration's "New Federalism".

June 28: House and Senate conferees approve a budget calling for $13 billion in spending cuts and $50 billion in tax increases over the next three years. According to the report, $6.6 billion of the cuts are in the Medicare program for the elderly and in administrative and accounting functions of government.

July 26: The Congressional Research Service says that federal budget cuts sought by the Reagan Administration and enacted by Congress, have driven an estimated 557,000 Americans into poverty. According to CRS, this is particularly so in families headed by women. Coupled with the 1981-82 recession, the total number of poor people in the nation increased by 2.2 million or 7.6% beyond what it would have been without these factors, the CRS study reveals.

Aug. 1: In Washington, the U.S. House of Representatives approves a $96 billion appropriations bill by a vote of 329-91 for the Departments of Health and Human Services, Education and Labor. The legislation increases funding for the departments over levels recommended by the Reagan Administration by $479 million. The House has earmarked most of the funding for Medicare, Medicaid and other benefit programs.

Aug. 3: The Census Bureau reports that despite improvements in the economy, the national poverty rate increased to 15.2% in 1983 from 15% in 1982. According to the report, the 1983 figure is the highest in 18 years. In its annual report, the Census Bureau says that the ranks of the poor have increased by 868,000. The report also reveals that in 1983, there were 5.3 million poor children.

Aug. 16: According to a report from the Urban Institute, President Reagan's policies have widened the gap between the rich and the poor in his first term. The Institute says that the total family income of the poorest one-fifth of the population dropped by 6.1% while that of the richest fifth rose by 38.9%. This represents a transfer of $25 billion overall from other income groups or, an extra $2,000 per family, the Institute asserts. The Institute says a large part of the shift is due to the administration's cuts in social benefits and alterations in the tax mix.

Sept. 23: David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, disputes assertions that the Reagan Administration has increased the ranks of the poor in a 29-page statement presented to the House Ways and Means Committee. Stockman claims that the increased poverty is attributable to a "deterioration of the

private economy," and not the administration's policies. Reportedly, Democrats on the committee score the budget director for using distorted statistics and for the inclusion of non-cash benefits to determine poverty.

Oct. 4: According to the report, Congress is hindering the efforts of the Reagan Administration to cut spending for health, education and welfare through increased funding for such programs in its spending bill. For example, funding for the Pell Grants program for low-income college students has been increased by $525 million. Also, Congress has approved $347 million for the community service block grant (anti-poverty programs) that the administration has tried to eliminate, according to the article.

Oct. 31: The U.S. Conference of Mayors proposes a $49 billion program for rebuilding the nation's cities which it says has been hurt by the Reagan Administration's shift of $83 billion in spending on domestic programs to other areas. The 14-point plan includes proposals on housing, employment and training, funding for social services and day care. In addition, it calls for the creation of a National Urban Development Bank which would provide $20 billion to urban areas to help spur private development.

Nov. 21: In a special field hearing of the Government Operations subcommittee, President Reagan's 1981 budget cuts are blamed for an "epidemic of homelessness" in the nation, particularly in New York City. City officials testify that in the last year alone, there has been a 40% increase in the number of homeless families and a 30% increase for individuals because of the benefits cuts. Rep. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.), chairman of the committee, says the federal government must establish a national commitment to the homeless ensuring shelter, food and medical services for the needy.

Dec. 7: The Reagan Administration's fiscal 1986 budget calls for $34 billion in domestic spending cuts in a broad range of programs providing benefits to the poor. According to the report, the largest single cut being proposed is $2.8 billion in the Medicare program. Among some of the other reductions or holds on cost-of-living increases are a $59 million cut in Head Start and another child welfare program, a $34 million cut in programs providing jobs and services to senior citizens, and a one-year freeze on college financial aid designed to save $49 million. The proposed cuts will affect more than two dozen programs including Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Dec. 13: An analysis by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reveals that nearly one-fifth of the $34 billion slated for cuts in domestic spending would come from programs for the poor. According to the analysis, the reductions would total some $6.1 billion in fiscal 1986. Additionally, the report says that for fiscal 1986, 1987 and 1988, cuts in programs targeted to the poor would total some $31.3 billion.

RACE RELATIONS

Jan. 8: Six Ku Klux Klansmen and three American Nazi Party members are scheduled to go on trial in Winston-Salem, N.C. on Monday, January 9, on Federal civil rights charges stemming from the killing of five Communist Worker Party members while demonstrating at a rally in Greensboro, N.C. on Nov. 3, 1979.

Jan. 23: Daniel L. Bell, the government's chief prosecutor, says in opening arguments, in the trial of six Ku Klux Klansmen and three American Nazi Party members accused of violating the civil rights of five Communist Worker Party members killed while demonstrating in Greensboro, N.C., that they were motivated by racial hatred.

Feb. 2: In Mobile, Alabama, a circuit court judge breaks a precendent in that state by overruling a jury sentence of life imprisonment for a man convicted of killing a young black man and hanging his body from a tree. Judge Braxton Kittrell Jr., of Mobile County Circuit Court, sets an April 30 execution date for Henry Francis Hays, convicted of killing Michael Donald, 19, at random "to show Klan strength in Alabama."

Feb. 8: A federal district judge orders the Federal Bureau of Investigation to pay $35,000 to a wheel-chair bound civil rights activist for injuries sustained at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan nearly 23 years ago while on a Freedom Ride through Alabama. Federal District Court Judge Richard A. Enslen makes the award to Walter Bergman, 84, who with his wife had filed a $2 million suit against the FBI.

Feb. 10: In Miami, a detective testifies that Luis Alvarez, a policeman, "was not so sure" that Nevell Johnson, a 20-year-old, was reaching for a gun when he killed him. The 24-year-old Alvarez is on trial for manslaughter in the Dec. 28, 1982, killing of Johnson. The shooting triggered a three-day riot in Overtown, a predominantly black section of Miami.

Feb. 27: Legislation creating a holiday in Virginia to commemorate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. clears the general Assembly ending a long and bitter struggle to win state recognition for the late civil rights leader.

Mar. 8: Luis Alvarez, 24, a Miami police officer accused of shooting Nevell Johnson, 20, in 1982, denies testimony of a state witness who says the officer had his gun cocked before the shooting. "I shot because I had to shoot," Alvarez tells a packed courtroom in Miami where he is on trial for manslaughter.

Mar. 16: An all-white jury of three men and three women deliberate less than two hours over evidence in the 57-day trial of Officer Luis Alvarez, 24, accused of the fatal shooting of 20-year-old Nevell Johnson, Jr. a Dade County courier. It acquits him of manslaughter charges stemming from the incident.

Mar. 17: Hundreds of police officers continue to occupy sections of Miami's predominantly black neighborhoods, where outbursts of violence result in more than 300 arrests. Stone and bottle throwing and reports of scattered looting, erupted after an all-white jury acquitted Luis Alvarez, a 24-year-old Hispanic police officer, of the shooting death of Nevell Johnson, Jr.

Mar. 22: Lenell Geter, a black engineer whose life sentence for an armed robbery drew national attention, is cleared in Dallas of all charges against him. Geter, a 26-year-old engineer with no criminal background, had been given a life sentence in October 1982 for a $615 robbery of a fried chicken restaurant in Balch Springs, a Dallas suburb. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Geter's fellow engineers at E-Systems, Inc. in Greenville, Tex. say Geter's arrest and conviction were the result of racial bias and shoddy police work.

April 10: Virginia Gov. Charles S. Robb goes to the campus of Virginia Union University to sign legislation making the third Monday in January, a state holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

April 20: The U.S. Supreme Court in a unanimous ruling says that racial prejudice has no place in child custody determinations. The court strikes down a Florida judge's decision depriving a white mother of custody of her 3-year-old child because she is married to a black man.

May 15: Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, warns that if the Rev. Jesse Jackson is assassinated there will be "black reaction in the streets." Both Jackson and Farrakhan have charged that there have been threats against Jackson's life by the militant Jewish Defense League.

May 18: Ten members of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan, including some top officials, are charged with federal civil rights violations in connection with their role in a violent confrontation with black protest marchers in May 1979, in Decatur, Ala., a suburb of Birmingham. The bloody clash had occurred when 80 robed Klan members, allegedly armed with a shotgun, a .45-cal. pistol and several clubs tried to stop about 100 black marchers. Two blacks were shot in the head, one Klan member was shot in the chest and another in the leg. Others were injured less seriously.

May 23: A federal district judge has removed himself from the trial of ten Ku Klux Klansmen because he was once warned his name appeared on a Klan "hit list" for assassination. Judge U.W. Clemon, the first black lawyer from Alabama appointed to the federal bench, files notice that he is stepping down from the case in which Klansmen were accused of violating the civil rights of black demonstrators by attacking them in Decatur, Ala. in May 1979. At the time, Clemons was a practicing attorney

representing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in its demonstrations against the conviction of Tommy Lee Hines, a retarded black man accused of robbing and raping a white woman. Clemons later directed a successful appeal for Hines.

May 28: Black Muslim Minister Louis Farrakhan, a prominent supporter of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, predicts that blacks will "settle the score" with whites in cataclysmic race wars within two years. "We're going to shake the world," Farrakhan tells an all-black audience at the South Side Muslim Mosque in Chicago in a speech on March 11. "We were born to settle the score," the Chicago Tribune quotes the Muslim leader as saying. The newspaper said it has obtained a tape of the speech given by Farrakhan calling Adolph Hitler a "very great man" and reportedly making an implied threat to a black Washington Post reporter who disclosed that Jackson referred to Jews as "Hymies."

May 31: Ben Citchen, a welder for Firestone Steel Products, a subsidiary of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, wins a $1.5 million suit for being racially harrassed on the job.

June 6: Former NAACP Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson loses an attempt to have herself reinstated as a member of the organization's board of directors. Mrs. Bush was ousted last year after attempting to suspend NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks.

June 12: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., former president of the National Urban League calls for a rebuilding of the "historic alliance" between blacks and Jews.

June 14: Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) appeals for an end to "polarization politics" pitting Jews against blacks, and says the conduct of Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan must be condemned.

June 21: William V. McLaughlin, Jr. an assistant corporation counsel for Jersey City, is held in contempt and fined $1,000 by a federal court judge for referring to a black man who brought a police brutality suit as a "boy" and for ignoring rulings by the judge.

July 7: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls for continued close relations with the Jewish community.

Aug. 11: Five Georgia Ku Klux Klansmen are arrested on federal charges of breaking into homes to mount violent attacks against an interracial couple and against a white woman believed to associate with blacks.

Sept. 9: Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Bill Wilkinson, says that he will resign effective no later than Dec. 31.

Sept. 16: Lawyers pressing a $48 million civil suit against local, state and federal police agencies, in the deaths of five Communist Workers Party members killed in Greensboro, N.C. in 1979, have asked a federal judge to add ten federal agents and Greensboro police officers as defendants.

Appendix A.

Helping Minority Students to Excel in University-level Mathematics and Science Courses --

The Professional Development Program at the University of California, Berkeley[1]

In 1964, the University of California Academic Senate, Berkeley Division, established the Special Scholarship Committee with a mandate to increase opportunities for minority students in the University. In 1974, after a decade of work, the Committee turned its attention to the severe underrepresentation of minority and women individuals in mathematics-related professions, creating the Professional Development Program (PDP) to address this problem. PDP identifies, and provides an increasingly wide range of academic services to, talented minority and women students from 50 San Francisco Bay Area High Schools, and in both undergraduate and graduate-level programs at the University of California, Berkeley.

In this paper, we focus on the PDP Math/Science Workshop, which is the core of PDP's undergraduate program at the lower-division (Freshman/Sophomore) level.

INTRODUCTION

It is widely recognized that college-level mathematics courses have been a major barrier to minority students seeking careers in engineering, the sciences, and other mathematics-based fields. Completing an undergraduate major in science or engineering requires first completing a two year foundation of mathematics-intensive science courses. Yet on most campuses, even those with well-funded academic support services, few minority students successfully complete even the first year of calculus.

In this profile, we describe an undergraduate-level mathematics and science intervention strategy developed by the Professional Development Program. PDP conducts intervention and retention programs at the secondary, undergraduate and graduate levels; the Mathematics/Science Workshop described in this profile is the core of its undergraduate-level component.

[1]This profile, prepared by Katharyn Culler, is adapted from Improving the Performance of Minority Students in University Mathematics: A College-Level Intervention Strategy, by Uri Treisman, Associate Director, Undergraduate Level, Professional Development Program. It was prepared for the U.S. Department of Education, National Commission on Excellence in Education

We discuss first the problems that the strategy is designed to address: those faced by minority freshman on the Berkelely campus. We then describe the strategy itself and the intervention project based on it, and we present some results of this program.

MINORITY STUDENTS AT BERKELEY

In surveying the educational path leading from San Francisco Bay Area elementary schools to graduate or professional programs at U.C. Berkeley, PDP's attention became focused on a particularly significant barrier to previously successful minority students: Berkeley's rigorous one-year calculus sequence. This sequence (Math 1A, 1B, 1C) is the first year of a two-year mathematics sequence which plays a pivotal role for science and engineering students: it is a prerequisite for all engineering and physical science majors, and it is the preferred calculus sequence for business administration and biological science majors. A closer look at this bottle-neck produced appalling statistics and revealed the heart-rending stories of individual students. Charts I & II show the performance of all black students since 1973 and all Chicano students since 1976 in math 1A & 1B. As the charts show, in every year prior to the creation of the Mathematics/Science Workshop in 1978, the average grade of black and Chicano students is below the class average, and, in many years, below the University's minimal acceptable scholarship level as well. Equally important, but not reflected in the charts, is the fact that more than one-fourth of the minority students who attempted Math 1A during these years dropped the class before completing it, and therefore, did not earn a grade.

Many minority students have entered Berkeley with less exposure to mathematics than their classmates, and seriously deficient study skills. Because of low academic standards in their high schools, they have chronically overestimated their understanding of course material, and so both prepared insufficiently for their classes and failed to make timely use of available academic support services. Moreover, because of inexperience in diagnosing their own academic problems, these students have not used study time effectively, whether along or with a tutor. The pace and intensity of U.S. Berkeley mathematics and science classes leave little time to get one's bearings, develop effective study habits, or make up academic deficiences. Hence, minority students from academically weak high schools have in the past, failed with alarming, but not surprising, regularity.

The insularity of these minority students further hindered their academic success. Unlike their majority counterparts, minority students rarely socialized or studied with their classmates. The informal study groups common among majority students are vehicles for academic socialization; they enable students both to "check out" their understanding of university and class requirements and to normalize their attitudes and behavior. Composed of students with shared purpose, these study groups are efficient mechanisms for gathering the institutional and mathematical knowledge necessary for academic success. Equally significant is the fact that they are an important source of encouragement and emotional support in what is, for students of all ethnicities, a period of difficult personal adjustment. Without such a community of peers, the minority students faced alone the formidable demands, both academic and personal, of

the freshman year. His isolation from his peers perpetuated a debilitating non-fit between his perceptions of what is required and the actual academic and social requirements of the institution.

Of course, U.C. Berkeley, like most other colleges and universities, provides its students with such academic and personal support services as counseling, faculty advising, and remedial tutoring. But many minority students have misunderstood the role and purpose of these services. It was commonplace, for example, for minority students to take as directives what faculty advisors intended as advice, a misunderstanding that decreased these advisors' value to the student in trouble--especially when conflicting advice came from several sources. Similarly, because many minority students believed that the Counseling Center was a college version of their high school counseling office, they rarely sought its help in times of crisis. For many minority students remediation is anathema; they
associate it with the non-academically oriented students in their high school, with the discipline problems, with the non-serious student. These misconceptions, coupled with the inexperience of many faculty and staff members in working with minority students, have often resulted in a disappointing experience for minority students who seek help. Thus, these students have avoided even those services that have been designed specifically for minorities.

From this account we see that for many minority science and engineering students, lacking strong academic skills, a supportive academic peer group, and a knowledge of how to use campus support services effectively, the freshman year has presented insurmountable demands. In the face of these demands, such students have been compelled to reevaluate not only their academic and professional plans, but also a core belief that enabled many of them to get to college, namely, that their intelligence and dedication alone would enable them to succeed. Many withdrew; others transferred into majors that are less demanding but that hold little interest for them. Of those that did continue in the sciences or engineering, the majority were eventually dismissed.

THE INTERVENTION STRATEGY: THE MATHEMATICS/SCIENCE WORKSHOP

The picture that emerged from PDP's study of minority freshman at Berkeley made it clear that an effective intervention strategy must focus not only on mathematics learning per se, but also on the range of other problems that minority freshmen face at Berkeley. PDP's strategy, described below, challenges remedial approaches to assisting minority students and provides instead a novel honors program promoting academic excellence: the Math/Science Workshop. The core of the strategy is the exercise of five functions. In what follows, we delineate these functions and the Math/Science Workshop activities that correspond to each.

(1) Building a community of minority freshmen that is focused on academic excellence and achievement and is a source of peer support.

In the Math/Science Workshop, students are immersed in highly structured, intensive group activities--even before the academic

term begins--and study groups are formed before classes start, giving students time to get to know each other, and to learn how to work together, before they are beset by the pressures of the academic term. Fifteen hours per week of group activities are blocked into participating students' schedules so that there is time for both academic and social activities.

These study groups enable minority students to carry on much of their academic work within an immediate community of their peers. Workshop staff members teach participants how to get from their "in-group" a variety of ingredients essential for academic success. These ingredients range from a knowledge of how to maneuver within the institutional "system", to and understanding of specific concepts under study in a course. The organization of working groups within the Workshop is contrived to take account of differences in ethnicity, economic class, and preparatory academic background, so as to maximize the benefit to each par- ticipating student.

By reducing the insularity of the Workshop students (as discussed in Section 1), these study groups both enrich the academic experience for participants--thereby improving their performance--and ease their transition into university life. In addition, the group format of the Math/Science Workshop is a cost-effective means for delivery of supplementary instruction by staff members, and it allows the students themselves to assume an instructional role in their interactions with one another. The students' opportunity to explain mathematical concepts and problems contributes significantly to their own learning.

An important feature of the Math/Science Workshop is its non-remedial emphasis, which is made possible by carefully placing students in courses for which they have adequate prerequisites. In this way, the Workshop maintains an atmosphere of academic achievement and excellence. When an individual student needs remediational study, the Workshop arranges for individual study sessions, often in conjunction with one of the regular campus units available for such service.

(2) Providing minority students with an extensive orientation to the University, and with on-going academic advising.

The Math/Science Workshop includes a wide range of activities which help students learn to perceive correctly the norms, demands, and requirements of the institution. Before students' first academic term (during their first week on campus), each student is interviewed in depth and given an appropriate mathematics screening test. In the initial orientation sessions and interview, students are told how their academic preparation compares with that of their classmates (minority and non-minority), and what will be expected of them in courses, e.g., number of hours of study weekly in each course, and standards for homework. On the basis of these contacts, each student is helped to design an appropriate academic plan for his/her freshman year. Each

student is also introduced to a sophomore student who will both monitor his/her progress and serve as a "buddy."

During the academic year, Workshop staff members serve as informal advisors; they are in almost daily contact with the Workshop students and are trained to recognize common problems that interfere with mi- nority students' academic success (cf. Section 1). Students with potentially serious problems are referred to the Workshop's coordinator or director; when necessary, these individuals refer students in turn to a campus Counseling Center or EOP specialist who has been assigned to work with Workshop students.

(3) Monitoring of both student's academic progress and their adjustment to the University environment, and advocating student's collective and individual interests.

The Math/Science Workshop staff follows closely Workshop students' progress and performance in their classes, including their homework and test scores, their understanding of important mathematical concepts, etc. This close monitoring is important because it enables the staff to identify and deal with problems quickly. Monitoring is thus closely tied to the Workshop's orientation, advising, and instructional activities. Workshop staff members act as advocates both for individuals in the Workshop and for the Workshop community. Formal ties have been established between PDP and the campus academic and administrative retention units; key individuals in these other campus units offer special assistance to Workshop participants.

(4) Providing minority freshmen with extensive and on-going supplementary instruction.

The Math/Science Workshop uses a variety of special formats developed by the PDP staff to provide Workshop students with both supplementary mathematics instruction and instruction in these target skills:

a. reading the technical language in which university mathematics texts are written,

b. writing homework, tests, and laboratory assignments in standard mathematical language and form,

c. accurately assessing the extent of one's understanding of mathematical concepts and problems.

The Workshop instructors typically have advanced graduate training in mathematics or science, experience in teaching at the university level, and experience in working with minority students. Many of these individuals are graduate students in Berkeley's Ph.D. program in science and mathematics education; others have worked with Project SEED or the Community Teaching Fellow Program (CTFP).

The ultimate aim of the Math/Science Workshop is to develop par-

ticipating students into independent learners so that they can function effectively in the mainstream of the University beyond their sophomore year. It is toward this end that the Workshop leader encourages and guides his/her students in their academic work and in their interactions with faculty, teaching assistants, and classroom peers.

(5) Linking high school-level and undergraduate-level affirmative action efforts.

U.C. Berkeley sponsors several high school-level programs, including PDP-SL (PDP Secondary Level), MESA (Mathematics, Engineering and Science Achievement), Upward Bound, and U.C. Partners. These are designed to increase the number of underrepresented minority students on this and other campuses. An increasing number of graduates of these programs are matriculating at U.C. Berkeley and entering the Math/Science Workshop. In providing continuing support to these students, the Workshop ties secondary-level outreach efforts to undergraduate-level retention efforts, and builds on U.C. Berkeley's substantial investment in high school outreach programs. Moreover, both the Workshop and the campus-at-large benefit substantially from the presence of graduates of the high school-level programs as workshop participants, peer teachers, and advisors, as these students are becoming the core of a minority academic community performing at a high academic level on the Berkeley campus. Conversely, the Workshop students are enriching these programs substantially by serving in them as informal tutors and advisors.

SELECTED DATA

An extensive evaluation of the first three years of the Math/Science Workshop is nearing completion; results suggest that the project has been highly successful in meeting its goals. Despite large yearly increases in the numbers of both students served and subjects offered, Workshop students have consistently outperformed their non-Workshop minority counterparts in each of the project's target courses. Moreover, in many of these courses, the average grade of Workshop students has equalled or surpassed that of their non-minority classmates as well.

In the last Fall and Winter (1981), the average grade earned by Black and Chicano freshman in Math 1A and 1B was between a B and a B-, exceeding the class average in every case.

Additionally, it is important to note that with only two exceptions, every minority Workshop student who has enrolled in Math 1A during the last three years has completed the course.

Another important effect of the Workshop has been a reduction in the rate of failure of minority students who enter the University with the poorest levels of preparation. We see that the improved performance of Workshop participants is accomplished despite the fact that, upon entering the University, their SAT mathematics scores were actually lower (on

average) than those of the non-Workshop students.

While the most apparent contribution of the Mathematics/Science Workshop has been the improved academic performance of participating students, we feel that an equally important contribution has been its success in keeping its students in the University. The proportion of black and Chicano Workshop students completing four and seven academic terms at Berkeley is higher than that of both their minority and their non-minority classmates. Moreover, the proportion of Workshop students completing their tenth term has also exceeded the campus average--over 80% of the students who joined the Workshop in Fall 1978 are currently enrolled at Berkeley (Fall, 1981).

REPLICATION AND DISSEMINATION

PDP's undergraduate-Level staff has been working closely with high school and other university-level programs that share the program's goals. Since Fall 1979, for example, staff members have conducted intensive one-day conferences for approximately 1,200 minority high school students, 300 parents, and 175 high school math and science teachers at more than 15 sites throughout California. Student participants in these conferences practice study-group techniques developed in the Workshop, and are provided with college and career advising. Teachers and parents are helped to set up, in both the school and the home, study labs based on the Workshop approach.

During the past year, Workshop staff have worked with the School of Engineering and Applied Science and with a mathematics faculty group at the University of California, Los Angeles, in establishing a project modelled on the Workshop. The UCLA project is currently serving approximately 200 students. In addition, two closely related "Workshop-type" projects, serving roughly 36 students, are underway at the University of California, San Diego, and final preparations are being made for similar projects at the San Diego and Los Angeles campuses of the California State University.

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